McMANUS MEMORIAL: HOTEL DIPLOMAT (NOTE CHANGE) IN N. Y. DEC. 12, 8 P.M.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 14, NO. 9 NEW YORK, DECEMBER 11, 1961

ONLY THE LEADER IS LACKING

Rise in ultra-right activities forcing U. S. political shifts

By Lawrence Emery

PROLIFERATING BANDS of ultra-rightists—still disunited and lacking an acknowledged leader—may yet produce a profound realigment in American politics.

When President Kennedy and ex-President Eisenhower both repudiated the ultras last month, the possibility of a split Republican Party became distinct. The extremists, hungering for political power now have nowhere to go but to the ultra-conservative wing of the GOP.

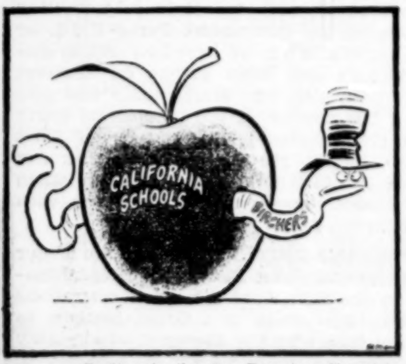
The first effects of this crystallization of allegiance is likely to be felt in California. For a time the GOP top brass thought their party would be the natural beneficiary of the radical right without any special effort. But Richard Nixon is now reported to be convinced that if he ran for Governor of California with ultra-right backing the result would be disastrous. So right-wing money—and there is plenty of it—will go to ultra-conservative Republicans at the expense of the liberals." There is already talk that Rep. John H. Rousselot, an avowed member of the John Birch Society, may run for the seat now held by Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel, a liberal Republican and assistant minority leader of the Senate. The same pattern is shaping up in many Northern states.

GOLDWATER BUSY: Sen. Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) was making his own hay. While Kennedy was speaking against the ultra-rights in Los Angeles, Goldwater was attacking the "radicals in the White House" at a news conference in Atlanta. He called Kennedy "the wagon master" who is "riding on the left wheel all the time."

Goldwater had gone to Georgia to attend a regional meeting of Republican leaders pursuing their dream of bringing the two-party system to the South. It was a delicate affair because Republicans can make a dent in Dixie only by courting the Negro vote. Goldwater shattered this dream by substituting one of his own—the capture of enough Southern state

(Continued on Page 10)

FRAMEWORK FOR A REQUIEM FOR A DICTATOR
This was the scene at Metropolitan Catholic Cathedral in Santo Domingo on June 8. The gunfire still resounds though Trujillo is dead.



Bastian in the San Francisco Chronicle
The worm in the teacher's apple

THE U. S. GOAL IS TO PREVENT A REAL REVOLUTION

Gunboat diplomacy and the Dominican crisis

By Carleton Beals

PRESIDENT JOAQUIN BALAGUER of the Dominican Republic, whose neck the United States warships have been trying to save, is the sycophant who wrote the pamphlet, "Trujillo and God," a belly-scraping that won him the vice presidency under the dictator's brother, President Hector Trujillo. But gunboat diplomacy goes back at least 100 years. President Grant sent his private secretary to the island in a battleship to salvage a fraudulent land deal, and gave him "moral support" with two more battleships in Samana Bay, which the U.S. wished to grab as a naval base.

Later, for six years—1916-1922—a U.S. military dictatorship ruled without elections by massacres, torture and censorship. Dominican poet Fabio Fiallo drew a long prison sentence for writing that the Marines had arrived "through the back door with fixed bayonets in the dark of the night." The long, ugly occupation delivered the best land to the American sugar corporations to be worked with imported black Haitians and Jamaicans behind barbed wire stockades.

U.S. BACKING: A direct outgrowth of Marine occupation was the 30-year dictatorship of Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo: his slaughter of 10,000 immigrant Haitians (on each he recieved a $5 rake-off), his murder of at least 5,000 Dominicans, his tortures in Nigua prison, his killing of opposition leaders not only in the Republic but in New York, Mexico City and elsewhere, his near-successful attempt to assassinate President Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela. Yet he basked in U. S. financial and military aid up to the day of his own assassina-

(Continued on Page 4)

ENGAGEMENTS FOR MEMORIAL AND ECLC MEETINGS CANCELED

Hotel Commodore welshes on dates, cites 'pressure'

TWO WEEKS BEFORE Bill of Rights Day, which marks the adoption of the first ten Amendments to the Constitution, the Hotel Commodore in New York canceled signed agreements for two events in its main ballroom. They were:

- A memorial for John T. McManus, the GUARDIAN's late general manager, scheduled for the night of Dec. 12.
- The annual Bill of Rights dinner, sponsored by Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, scheduled for Dec. 15.

The hotel's action came by telephone calls on Friday, Dec. 1. The GUARDIAN, which had the day before received written confirmation of its reservation, immediately engaged the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd St., for the same time: Dec. 12 at 8 p.m. It took this step pending decision, after consultation with legal counsel, on what action to take against the Hotel Commodore. It was felt that since announcements, press stories and an issue of the GUARDIAN had reached people with the news and date of the McManus memorial, it would be the desire of the almost 2,000 persons expected at the meeting that it be held on the scheduled date.

The ECLC on Dec. 4 went to court to seek an injunction against the Commodore to force it to live up to its contract. The Bill of Rights dinner was held at the Commodore without incident in 1960, Dr. Clark Foreman, ECLC director, said, "and the Republic still stands." The hotel attributed its action to pressure from "patriotic groups."

Immediately after the 1960 dinner a reservation was made for 1961 and, on Feb. 7, the $1,000 rental fee was paid. At this writing 600 reservations were in and 1,000 expected. Listed as speakers are Carey McWilliams, editor of **The Nation**, I. F. Stone, editor of **Stone's Weekly**, Dr. Corliss Lamont and Judge Hubert T. Delany. At this late date, Dr. Foreman said, efforts to obtain a hall large enough to hold the ECLC guests would be extremely difficult.

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THE MAIL BAG

Alias freedom

SAWYER, MICH.

What is the system that has the most aliases? Answer: Capitalism, otherwise known as: Free World, Free Enterprise, Democracy, The West, Freedom, Individual Freedom, Americanism. **Otto Zarob**

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MANHASSET, N.Y.

The rash of symptomatic terms such as "freedom," "Our Commitments," "national survival," et al., obscures the real causes of the disease. Is the "Unification of Germany" worth "Universal Dismemberment"? History has not faded so completely into the past that its warning shadow does not still outline the sickening shapes of the gas chambers, the millions dead — the world of terror.

Is it not a more commonsense policy to allow the "freedom-loving Germans" a chance to live (which is more than they afforded us), but **not** the opportunity to start another adventure? We have the dubious credit for arming Germany in the past, and let it not be forgotten that ours was the first nuclear bomb to shatter human bodies. Are Americans willing to live only with the illusion that we can do no wrong?

The policy of brotherhood and good will towards men has become an unreal ideal. Unfortunately, the consequences of this may well cause the destruction of the species we call Man.

Anne Laven

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CLARKSVILLE, GA.

A stream of rhetoric about "freedom," "the free world," etc., is flowing these days from various sources with suspicious unanimity. It appears to be the official rallying cry selected for a last-ditch attempt to roll back the swelling tide of socialism, the implication being that in the socialist countries people are gagged and bound hand and foot.

When in Russia last year on the GUARDIAN tour, I made the point at every opportunity to question the folks we met as to how they felt on this subject. The gist of their replies was that they regard themselves as members of a nationwide cooperative undertaking, and they feel free to do or say anything that a conscientious member of a cooperative would want to do or say.

Bertie Lee Blossom

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

The function of a government, presumably, is to promote the people's welfare. In view of the tremendous strides being made by the Soviet Union, it seems to me that it is incumbent upon our government to make a careful study of the possibility that some form of socialism or communism may be better for the people than the so-called "free enterprise" system. **Samuel Buck**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LONDON, Nov. 22 (UPI)—The **Evening Standard** said in an editorial column today the Canadian army has issued these orders telling a soldier what to do if he sees a nuclear bomb explode: "The soldier will inform his immediate superior and tell him what has occurred. If a bomb goes off in duty hours a certain number will be called. If it is during off-duty hours, an alternate number will be called. The soldier then will fill out the appropriate report form and dispatch it forthwith to headquarters."

—New York **World-Telegram and Sun,** Nov. 22

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Mrs. J.F., New Rochelle, New York

Queen and President

ACCRA, GHANA

I have seen the slim white Queen of Britain meet and greet the black young President of Ghana. Many such sights I have witnessed. Once in Berlin I saw a German emperor kiss an Italian king as they cemented anew the Triple Alliance. I have seen an American citizen ride down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Presidency of the United States. In London I saw a king ride to his coronation. In Moscow I saw the army which rid the world of Hitler march through the gates of the Kremlin. But none of these sights was more brilliant than Elizabeth of England clasping hands with Kwame Nkrumah of Africa as 100,000 black folk roared their happiness.

Yet, one fact marred this meeting and that was the determination of the white British press to lie about it, to distort it, deliberately to misrepresent it. The American press allowed a fairer picture to emerge because Big Business fears that additional dislike in Africa just now might add to our forced retreat in Germany and the Far East.

Ghana is in revolution. This the world knows. Yet this meeting and celebration was orderly far beyond all expectation. A statue of Nkrumah was smirched a week before; there were some minor disorders in the streets, but not near as many as daily occur in London or Paris or New York. With thousands of autos there were traffic jams but only 14 accidents in four days. The visitor was astonished at the good nature and universal good will.

Yet the mass of the white Western world believes that this visit of the Queen to West Africa is a failure or even, as one daily sneers, an "outrageous" royal gesture. It is not. It is a marvelous triumph. I know it! I saw it! What ails white civilization which makes it fear truth?

W.E.B. Du Bois

People's what?

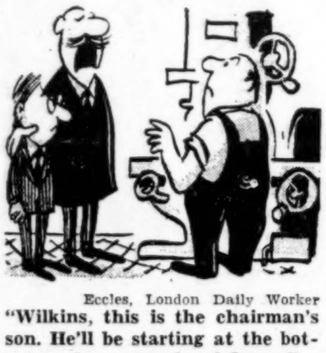
NEW YORK, N.Y.

David Lawrence, in the New York **Herald Tribune,** Nov. 6, says the idea of "People's Capitalism," recently revived by Lee H. Bristol in a speech to the Association of National Advertisers, could be a powerful propaganda weapon against the Russians. He agrees with Bristol that the image is a "true, clear, easily understood and attractive" one and should be resumed vigorously by the Voice of America.

I had thought this particular Madison Ave. gimmick had long since received its death blow. I recall that its demise came quickly following the Dave Garroway television show of Sept. 24, 1958, on which Eric Hass, then Socialist Labor Party candidate for Governor, said that the stock holdings of the Rockefeller family alone had a market value greater than the market value of all the stock holdings of all American wage-earners in all U.S. corporations.

Hass' statement, hotly denied by the industrialists, was soon proved to be correct by an impressive array of facts and figures brought forward by the highest economic authorities. Among them was the report of the Temporary Economic Committee which had, in 1927, listed the stock holdings of the wealthiest U.S. families as: du Pont, $578 million, Rockefeller family, $397 million, Mellon family, $391 million. Brought up to date, and allowing only for publicly announced changes, the market value of the Mellon and Rockefeller family holdings in 1958, would exceed $3 billion each, and du Pont, more than $4 billion.

Charles Pemberton



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"Wilkins, this is the chairman's son. He'll be starting at the bottom for a couple of hours."

Cross-country Goshal

CHICAGO, ILL.

Here's a new sub obtained at a meeting where Kumar Goshal spoke on Israel. The credit certainly must go to him not only for the sub, but for bringing clarity on so many baffling subjects. **Ida Good**

U-boat in the wind

CHICAGO

Just recently, NATO ally Germany launched her first post-war submarine. Every paper, almost every newscast told us this. But none of the stories in the U.S.—only Radio Moscow—tried to warn Americans who the commander is. He's a Nazi U-boat commander who sank 44 allied ships in World War II.

LeRoy Wolins

Credit Michael Essin

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Your Nov. 17 story on the Killian case omits the name of M. Michael Essin of Milwaukee as one of Killian's counsel in the Supreme Court. The fact is that throughout the two trials and three appellate arguments of the Killian case it has been handled by a legal team consisting of M. Michael Essin, David B. Rothstein of Chicago and (after the first trial) myself.

Another error: Killian was trustee of a UE local at the Allen Bradley plant—not UAW.

Basil R. Pollitt

Good for the job

ERWIN, TENN.

Our President says he is sending only some old second-hand bombers to Vietnam. But don't worry, church-going Americans, they're quite good enough to carry our spiritual, Christian, democratic Standard Oil gasoline jelly to dump on the poor peasants and their women and children who refuse to put up any longer with the puppets of American Big Business.

Ernest Seeman

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ACROSS THE WORLD in Paris the Big Four talks on disarmament, undertaken on the insistence of small and middle UN powers, were completed with "Western diplomats . . . making it plain that any last hopes for a substantial agreement had flickered out" (N.Y. **Times,** Dec. 7). Assembly President Padilla Nervo's report on the talks, suggesting that some agreement had been reached, brought consternation and protests from Western diplomats.

The West attributed the failure to Soviet rejection of "foolproof" inspection and its own refusal to ban atomic weapons until Moscow accepted the Western inspection plan . . . Actually Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky accepted inspection as early as Nov. 19, 1948, in an Assembly speech. During the current talks, he told the press Russia would agree to immediate inspection of its atomic installations once UN has formally outlawed weapons of mass destruction.

—From the National Guardian, Dec. 12, 1951.

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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Editor-in-Exile

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, Tel: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES, U.S., U.S. possessions, $5 a year; Canada and Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower-Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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JOHN T. McMANUS (1904-1961), General Manager, 1948-1961

Vol. 14, No. 9 401 December 11, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

A look ahead

THE MOST WARMING FACT in the days following the death of John T. McManus has been the universal expression of concern that the GUARDIAN continue and flourish as a living testament to his faith in the America that can be. For those of us who share his faith this concern has lent encouragement beyond measure.

In such a time there is both a desire and a need to review the operations and the policies of our paper, to plug the gap and to adjust to a future without the guidance of a wise and tempered colleague.

In the space of a few years we have been deprived of the immediate participation in the GUARDIAN of these most valuable men: Cedric Belfrage through a deportation procedure, and Louis E. Burnham and Jack McManus by death before their time. In each case we have been able to close ranks because we operate in an atmosphere as close to practicing democracy as possible. There is authority, but there is no authoritarianism. The staff participates fully in the preparation of each issue—as it has done for more than 13 years—and all points of disagreement are argued out. While some differences may persist, it is fair to say that there is general pre-publication agreement on the contents of each issue, allowing for flexibility for late changes as the news breaks. This mode of operation will continue.

SINCE ITS INCEPTION THE GUARDIAN has pursued an independent progressive course. Our point of view is radical because we believe that radical changes are imperative if our nation is to live in peace with the rest of the world. We have recorded with interest and excitement the progress of those parts of the world that have espoused socialism, and we have insisted on the right of Americans to present socialist alternatives for our own way of life. At the same time we have commented critically on aspects of life in the socialist world whenever we have felt such criticism was warranted to place in proper perspective the march of events. This policy will continue.

We have never, and will never, seek to attain respectability by aiming gratuitous potshots at the Communist Party U.S.A. or any other minority radical grouping. While we have had serious disagreements with the Communists and other groups on electoral policy and other matters, we hold with Vito Marcantonio who said with simple clarity in 1949: "The defense of the Communist Party is the first line of defense of civil liberties for all Americans." That statement was made in 1949, on the eve of the first Smith Act prosecutions of the leaders of the CP; it holds doubly today when this same leadership—and membership—is threatened again with imprisonment under the McCarran Act.

IF WE HAVE BEEN A CONSTANT CRITIC of the policies of our own government, both Republican and Democratic administrations, it is because we feel, on the facts, that these administrations have been leading the nation, like oracles in a Greek tragedy, to inevitable doom. But we do not hold with the theory of inevitability and have thus concentrated our fire where we can be effective in bringing change: our own country. These are the policies which Jack McManus helped shape and which we will continue.

The coming year will be a time of testing in the major areas of world conflict, and in this situation the need for honest news and opinion, which we at the GUARDIAN try to the best of our ability to present each week, is greater than ever.

IN THIS SPIRIT, to honor the life and work of a man whose enthusiasm and initiative never flagged, the staff of the GUARDIAN is presenting a memorial meeting for John T. McManus in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Diplomat, 408 W. 43d St., in New York, on Dec. 12 at 8 p.m. **Note the change from the Hotel Commodore.** Speakers will include persons who were associated with our late colleague in most aspects of his many-faceted life: Dr. Corliss Lamont, A. J. Muste, C. B. Baldwin, John J. Abt, Karen Morley, Melitta del Villar, R. Alec Jones, William A. Price, James Aronson, Russ Nixon and Robert E. Light.

Come with all the friends you can gather for a reaffirmation that the fight will go on in the best McManus tradition.

—THE GUARDIAN

LAW AGENTS OF 9 STATES COMBINE FOR A 'SUBVERSIVE' SMEAR OPERATION

Dixie begins a witch-hunt to block integration

By Joanne Grant

FORMATION OF the Southern Association of Intelligence Agents—made up of law enforcement officers of nine states—is an ominous indication of an intensified use of smear techniques by the segregationist South in its attempt to preserve its way of life.

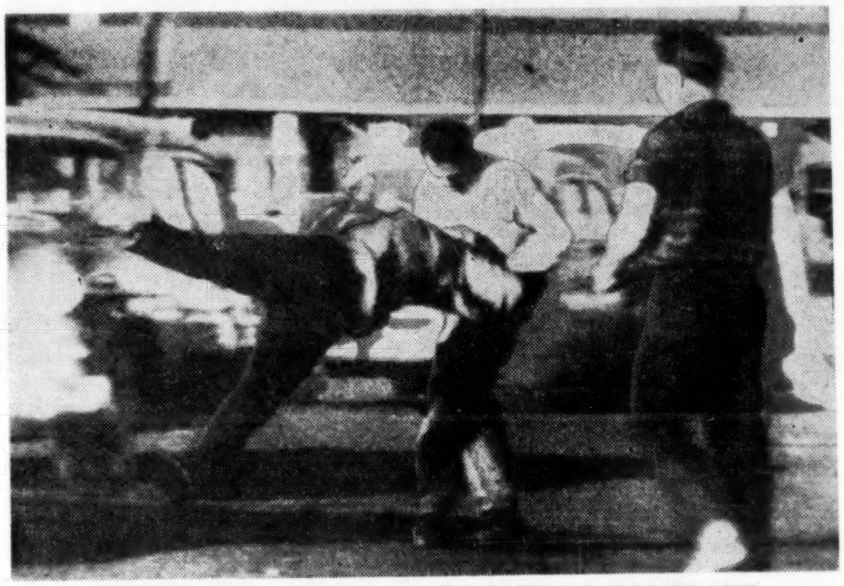
The organization says its purpose is to exchange information on "subversion" and other problems. According to its president, Lt. H. A. Poole of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, the group is interested in all subversive organizations. "'Subversive' covers a large field," he said. "Some people think 'subversive' just covers the Communist party, but there are a lot of organizations besides the Communist party that are subversive."

In most Southern states the subversive label has been applied to the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and bi-racial human relations councils.

Poole said member states would exchange information on activities of civil rights groups and those who oppose them. The organizations listed include: CORE, SNCC, and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The Ku Klux Klan, the National States Rights party and the Minutemen were also mentioned.

SECRET TALKS: It is common practice among segregationists to equate integration activities with left-wing subversion and Communism. Civil rights organizations in the South have long been accustomed to being red-baited, but the intelligence agents' organization is the first formal smear apparatus to be set up. One justification given for the action was that since the Supreme Court upheld the McCarran and Smith Acts, there is greater need for ferreting out Communists everywhere. But the association has been planned in secret meeting during the last few months. The decision to reveal its formation indicates that the Federal announcement of intention to enforce the McCarran Act has been taken as a justification for a Southern witchhunt. The Louisville, Ky., **Courier Journal** commented Nov. 29: "The need for it (the association) equals exactly the South's need for the bollweevil."

According to the N.Y. **Times**, Nov. 26, the association was formed at a conference in Miami Nov. 13-14 after it had been proposed at a meeting last summer in Atlanta by Lt. Poole and R. J. Strickland, chief investigator of the Florida State Legislative Investigating Committee.



McCOMB, MISS., METHOD OF PRESERVING A WAY OF LIFE

A Negro is manhandled after seeking lunch-counter service

Poole said the new group would also deal with Communist infiltration in education. "When you are dealing with educational institutions you are dealing with dynamite," he said, "They've got this academic freedom." Strickland said another problem to be dealt with was homosexuals in government.

The member states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Tennessee. North Carolina had sent an observer to the Miami meeting, but Gov. Terry Sanford announced that the state was not a member. Texas and Virginia also declined to join.

'SALES' PROGRAM: The police alliance follows by a few months the agreement of eight Southern Governors to undertake a program of expansion of Southern economy, Latin American trade and research and "improvement of the South's position in its fight for the right of self-determination and preservation of constitutional government." States represented at that conference were Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky and Louisiana.

Some of these states have adopted public relations' programs to sell the Southern way of life in the North. Mississippi, for instance, has sent speakers on Northern tours, and sponsored radio and television programs in the North. Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett has called for an alliance of Northern and Southern conservative governors and a campaign to enlist rank-and-file citizen support.

"The fact is that white people of the North don't like the NAACP and other left-wing organizations any better than we do," he told a New Orleans Citizens Council rally. "They're tired of having their political spokesmen bowing and scraping for the left-wing vote," he said.

COURT FIGHTS: In at least five states legislative investigating committees—set up in eight Southern states since the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision—have brought about legal battles in attempts to compel the NAACP to disband. The Supreme Court ruled that Louisiana cannot apply to the NAACP a law purportedly designed to determine whether an organization is Communist-dominated, and that the state cannot force the NAACP to disclose its membership or contributors.

In Alabama the NAACP has been banned since 1956. The Supreme Court ordered the state to hear argument by the NAACP against the ban and the case will be heard Dec. 27. The Supreme Court had ruled previously against a contempt of court citation issued after the NAACP refused to turn membership lists over to the state.

In Florida the Legislative Investigating Committee demanded membership lists of Miami branch president Rev. Theodore Gibson, who refused to yield them on First Amendment grounds. Gibson's case will be heard by the Supreme Court.

VIRGINIA TACTIC: Virginia has tried another tactic. It set up a legislative committee to investigate organizations which promote court cases. The Supreme Court heard argument Nov. 8 on an NAACP case involving a law which would disbar lawyers who handle cases of groups participating in law suits in which they have no financial interest.

The Virginia committee, the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, has directed its fire also at the law firm, Jordan, Dawley and Holt, which filed suit against the committee's harassment in Federal District Court. The firm's case is being supported by the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU said that the U.S. Justice Dept.'s Civil Rights Division had turned down its request for a Federal investigation for violations of the Federal Civil Rights Act. The ACLU said that Burke Marshall, head of the division, "thought legal questions rising from the committee's efforts to obtain membership lists of anti-segregation groups and to enforce its subpenas would be accorded fair hearings in the courts."

In Texas Atty. Gen. Will Wilson recently criticized the House General Investigating Committee for issuing false charges against the NAACP concerning legal expenses for sit-in demonstrators at Wiley College. The NAACP was permanently enjoined in 1957 from soliciting law business in the state.

FEW RIGHTS LAWYERS: The attempt to keep the NAACP and other organizations and lawyers from handling civil rights cases is a significant part of the segregationists' fight because important civil rights victories have been won in the courts and because there are few civil rights attorneys in the South. There are only two Negro lawyers in Mississippi, for instance, and no white lawyer will handle a civil rights case. Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional NAACP Director, estimates the number of lawyers competent in the civil rights field as four or five in Florida, four in Georgia, five in South Carolina, eight to ten in North Carolina and seven in Tennessee.

The intensified drive against "subversives" and against legal aid, coupled with familiar techniques of police brutality and collusion with mobs and a virtual press blackout, could deal the civil rights movement a severe blow.

The Civil Rights Commission report on police brutality issued Nov. 16 helped to lift the veil which has covered much of the violence and intimidation that is part of the daily life of the Southern Negro. The commission found that: "American citizens in some places live in fear of police violence and of mob violence with police connivance." The commission criticized the U.S. Justice Dept. for "deference to state authorities" in investigations of civil rights violations. The report also stated that: " . . . victims and witnesses of police misconduct are sometimes hesitant to give information to Federal authorities because of the cooperative relationship between the FBI and local policemen."

THE PROOF: The Commission's report of police aid to a mob and of FBI inaction was borne out barely two weeks after its issuance when FBI agents stood taking notes while five Negro students testing the new Federal order to desegregate travel facilities were brutally beaten at the McComb, Miss., bus terminal. The FBI was on the scene; the police arrived five minutes after the beatings had ended.

THE LAW WITH THE BUILT-IN VERDICT

Communist Party indicted for refusal to register

A FEDERAL GRAND JURY in Washington on Dec. 1 handed up a 12-count indictment against the Communist Party for refusal to register under the Internal Security Act of 1950. The action was taken 15 hours after a second deadline for compliance by the party and its officers expired on Nov. 30.

There was no indication when the case might be brought to trial. One of the 12 counts was for failure to file the required registration statement; the other 11 were for each day of non-compliance. Under the law the party can be fined $10,000 each day.

The first deadline expired on Nov. 20, when the party as such was required to register and list its officers and members and provide a complete financial statement. The second deadline required the officers to provide such a statement; non-compliance on their part is punishable by a $10,000 fine and five years in prison for each day of refusal. A third deadline is set for Dec. 20 when individual members will be called upon to register themselves under the same penalties.

"SOME DIFFICULTIES": On the day before the second deadline passed, the party announced that it had reduced its officers to three persons and declined to identify them. But another source named them as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national chairman; Benjamin Davis, national secretary, and Gus Hall, general secretary. There was no indication when the Dept. of Justice would move against the party's officers; Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy said: "There are some difficulties that will have to be ironed out."

The party is fighting the order to register, which the Supreme Court upheeld in a 5-4 decision last June, on the ground that the law's built-in definition of guilt and attendant penalties violate the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination, and that the cumulative fines and prison sentences violate the Eighth Amendment's prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment. These issues were not touched upon in the Supreme Court's June ruling and long litigation is expected before they are finally settled by the courts.

GUILT WITHOUT TRIAL: The Communist Party on Nov. 30 issued a statement explaining its refusal to register. The statement argued that "registration under this act would force its victims to confess 'guilt' to a series of crimes—such as being a foreign agent, as part of an international conspiracy ready to use espionage, sabotage, force and violence against the government of the United States — crimes written into this law as a definiton of a communist-action organization, but for which they have never been tried in a court of law. All of these crimes and concepts attributed to the Communist Party are base and infamous slanders fabricated by Hitlerism.

"At the same time the victims would incriminate themselves by such a compulsive admission of 'guilt' which can (and inevitably will) be used to convict them of violations of other laws.

"The Communist Party challenges the alleged factual basis of the registration order, as a fascist-like edict, with a built-in verdict of guilt. It denies that it is an agent of the Soviet Union or any foreign government and rejects all other accusations made therein, in support of this false charge."

Dominican crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

tion—as does that other murderous dictator, Francisco Duvalier of Haiti, even now. Almost every U.S. ambassador has lauded Trujillo, as have U.S. Senators (a number directly or indirectly on his payroll).

Trujillo was not merely a dictator but a "robber baron" in the best tradition. He had squeezed out almost all U.S. corporations; he owned the land of the Dominican Republic; he and his family owned nearly every industrial plant; they owned the radio stations, the newspapers; they made **Trujillo and God,** and his third wife's book **Moral Meditation,** compulsory reading in the schools. He had, indeed, for the U.S. become expendable; he was giving American policy a black eye all around the world. The problem was how to prevent a popular revolution from taking over.

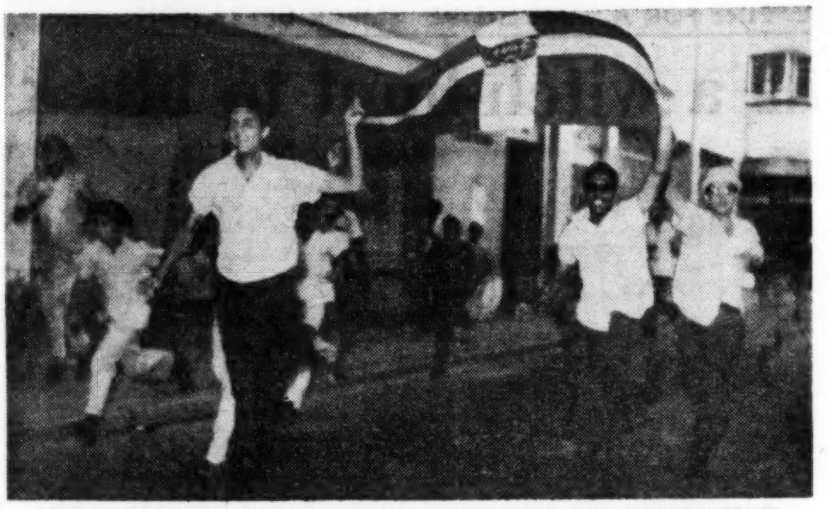
Even before the San José sanctions were imposed on Jan. 3, 1961, there were indications that U.S. undercover agents were at work, that overtures were being made to the Catholic Church (everywhere in Latin America now in close alliance with the State Department) and with the National Civic Union headed by Viriato Fiallo, a group of upper-class professionals, businessmen and bureaucrats, chafing at the uncertainties and barriers to advancement and wealth under the dictatorship. Here was the ideal man and the ideal organization.

THE BIG DAY: The grand day was set, and in January, 1960, the U.S. Caribbean fleet moved in on Ciudad Trujillo on "maneuvers"; generals and admirals were flown in from Panama and Florida; the sailors romped ashore.

Trujillo was one jump ahead. Several days prior to D-day, the aristocratic elite were rounded up and tossed into prison. Killings began. Instead of achieving quiet transition, the U.S. merely won a bigger black eye for apparently supporting the dictatorship with warships. It was a fiasco, and the only possible excuse at hand was "coincidence."

The "deal" sought at San José was to have the Organization of American States impose sanctions on Trujillo in return for sanctions against Castro by all the countries. The sanctions against Trujillo, however, were never fully imposed. The U.S. dragged its feet, broke relations but kept its consulate open, and continued to buy sugar.

Even so, the sanctions caught the Dominican Republic at a bad moment, when prices for its products had hit a 10-year low and reserves had been depleted by fantastic outlays for the international exposition and for new armaments because of the fear of Castroism.



CIUDAD TRUJILLO YOUTHS SHOUT 'DOWN WITH THE GOVERNMENT'

But the late dictator's friends are still powerful

NEW TERROR: Young Ramfis Trujillo, who had been a full-fledged army colonel at the age of 4, and who at this juncture was back from romping with Hollywood actresses, was shipped off to make deals with the Soviet Union. The assassination of his father this mid-year brought him back to take over his post as head of national defense to try to hold the Trujillo empire together. The army was headed by six generals named Trujillo, and four more generals were in-laws. Ramfis soon instituted a new reign of terror.

President Balaguer, who had taken over when Hector Trujillo resigned as president, followed State Department demands by promoting at least an appearance of democracy. He abolished the special perogatives of Trujillo's authoritarian party, the Dominican Party, which had held sway for 30 years, cut off its 10% subsidy from government employees. The party kept its luxurious "palaces" as headquarters, but no longer served as a false front for the illicit seizure of properties and for collecting the dictator's kickbacks from private commercial and business transactions.

THE EXILES RETURN: Leaders of opposition parties, some of them long in exile, were allowed to return, but only those from anti-Communist, anti-Castro groups. The left groups were proscribed, though Maximo López Molina of the Popular Democratic Movement (MPD), heavily infiltrated with pro-Castroites and "anti-imperialists," had come in earlier. The new influx included Fiallo of the National Civic Union, the State Department's white hope; the ex-student leader of Santiago, Angel Miolan; Nicolas Silfa and writer Juan Bosch of the venerable Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), and Manuel Tavarez of the 14th of June Movement. All three organizations were anti-Communist, pro-U.S., and the leaders were soon called to the U.S. consulate—as popular discontent and rioting grew worse—to set up a coalition government with Balaguer.

The returning exiles were met ceremoniously at the airport by Emilio Rodriguez de Morici, the new Minister of Education and Fine Arts, a notorious Trujillo henchman.

Miolan told the press, "President Balaguer has told me that the dictatorship had died, and from now on there will be a clean sweep and a new accounting." He said guarantees for free elections had been made. He admitted that Hector and Ramfis Trujillo still controlled the police and the army, and said he intended to collaborate with them.

If it was a clean sweep, there was no evidence of it. Balaguer had sent Porfirio Rubirosa, Trujillo's notorious ex-son-in-law, to Washington to push the lifting of sanctions. He had a good ally in De Lesseps S. Morrison, the U.S. delegate to the O.A.S., a long-time friend of Trujillo, with whom he had deals and by whom he had been decorated. Balaguer also sent as delegate to the United Nations another in-law of Trujillo. His appointment as Foreign Affairs Minister of Ambrosio Alvarez Aybar, a wealthy businessman close to the Trujillos and U.S. corporate interests, was also an obvious effort to curry favor in Washington. The Balaguer government had not even changed its spots.

UNIVERSITY SHUT: And the new freedom was illusory. The police broke up political rallies, arrested López Molina, smashed the headquarters of three opposition groups, including that of the National Civic Union, rode down students and professors protesting the appointment of a former Trujillo stooge as rector of the National University. Balaguer closed down the institution. The student riots brought death and injury to many.

After 30 years of terror and cowed servility, the people were slow to act, but popular fury rose. The public demanded the elimination of the entire Trujillo family and its closest supporters. Soon the Trujillos had to flee the island, carrying off what hastily gathered loot they could, stripping the government banks of funds, putting their properties in the name of dummies or selling them at bargain rates.

The opposition leaders now demanded that Balaguer, instead of forming a coalition, resign and that government be carried on by Fiallo and a junta of civilians, with only one member of the armed forces. When this was rejected, and when the efforts of the State Department representatives either to save Balaguer or to assure a coalition with Fiallo broke down, a general strike was ordered by the lawyers of the National Civic Union.

Fiallo himself was surprised. The strike closed down practically every plantation, factory and business on the island, and at this writing Fiallo is trying to call off the strike lest it increase the power of the pro-Castro forces. It is doubtful, however, if any coalition government or any provisional junta bearing the tag "Made in the U.S.A." will prosper. The tides are running too strongly now.

The Dominican people may make some political gains out of all this. But they must have economic freedom if any form of "democracy" is to survive. In the present situation, the Dominican Republic is a rich prize ready for plundering. All the physical assets of the nation are there for the taking. Will they be snatched up by foreign corporations, now that battleships have cleared the road?

In many respects absentee ownership, which was the curse of Cuba, would be more disastrous for the Dominican Republic than the oldtime Trujillo monopolies, and would mean greater economic misery for the country. Certainly the few wealthy Dominicans, tainted with Trujilloism, cannot get far; most of them will probably soon flee the island. Will the properties, then, be the prize of the new self-seeking politicos now fencing for power? Or will the Trujillo family properties be taken over by the government and administered for the welfare of the Dominican people?

If the Dominican people are to achieve their independence, somehow they must gain access to the means of production. Theirs is an exceedingly rich island in which there has been no reason for wages averaging less than $100 a year—except for exploitation, thievery and corruption. Has the hour of freedom struck? Will U.S. battleships permit such a revolution to occur?

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THE H-BOMB PROTECTION CRAZE REALLY HAS ITS BLIGHTER SIDE

You'll just die laughing at the shelter program

By Robert E. Light
(Last of a series)

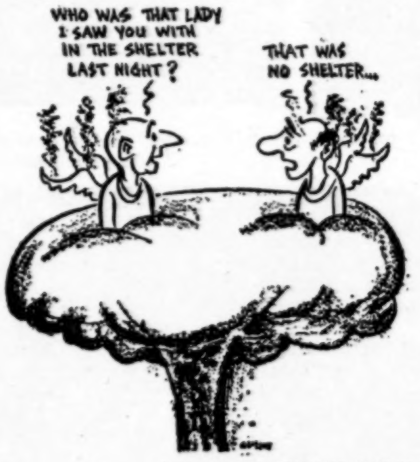
WHEN PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV predicted that they would "bury" us, it was generally accepted that he was forecasting the victory of socialism over capitalism. But the fervor of Washington's fallout shelter campaign raises the suspicion that a Soviet agent in the White House has taken the premier's dictum literally. The Kennedy Administration seems determined to bury us deeper and faster than Khrushchev ever dreamed.

By the end of the month, 60 million American mailboxes will be filled with pamphlets from the Defense Department explaining what citizens can do to protect themselves in the event of nuclear attack. The pamphlets would have gone out earlier, but the Administration shifted its strategy from family to community shelters, causing revisions in the manual.

The pamphlets are bound to be attractive and optimistic, since they are being prepared with the help of an editorial team from **Life** magazine. **Life** kicked off the shelter craze in its Sept. 7 issue with a 14-page spread asserting that shelters can save 97% of the population.

To arrive at optimistic statistics, shelter hoopla has rated fallout as about as serious as a bad cold. A man, it seems, is not a man until he's had a good dose of radiation.

LIBBY'S WONDER: The Administration's shift to community shelters may have been speeded by Dr. Willard F. Libby's experience with a family shelter. The former Atomic Energy Commission member wrote a widely syndicated series extolling the virtues of the backyard shelter. On a national TV show, Libby showed off his ultimate weapon: A $30 family fallout shelter in his Bel-Air, Calif., home. It consisted of "a hole in a backyard hill, bags of dirt and some railroad ties."


WHO WAS THAT LADY I SAW YOU WITH IN THE SHELTER LAST NIGHT?
THAT WAS NO SHELTER...

Avrom in the Canadian Tribune

On the same day that Libby's article on his $30 wonder appeared in papers around the country, a brush fire swept Bel-Air. The Libby family wisely evacuated the area. When they returned they found that the railroad ties had caught fire and collapsed into the hole below.

William Kennedy and Robert Moore of Hampton Beach, N.H., also found shortcomings in the family shelter. In October they descended into Kennedy's new $2,000 shelter for a five-day test. Nineteen hours later Kennedy complained to his wife through an intercom that his head felt as if it were exploding. Police evacuated the pair to a hospital just in time to save their lives.

The town's CD director explained: "They had a dehumidifying system and a canned heat stove that used up the oxygen. There was a hand-operated blower to replenish the air, but somebody had to turn the handle for 10 minutes of every hour. They went to sleep and didn't turn the handle . . . . They should have slept in relays."

IT'S A HOWL: Undaunted, Kennedy tried another test a month later. This time he took along his son Ricky, 12, and a friend, Adrianus van Hooijdonk. The oxygen held out but their morale collapsed. When they came up after two weeks Kennedy said: "Do you know what I feel like doing now? I'd like to go to my bedroom, shut the door and cry for an hour."

He also questioned the CD specifications marking the shelter for eight persons. "If eight people had to stay in the shelter for two weeks, containers for body waste and garbage would take up half the room in the shelter," he said.

Robert D. Myers of Chattanooga also had reason to believe that CD officials might be the main enemy. His family agreed to live in a shelter for 10 days in a test sponsored by the local CD office. The cylindrical shelter, eight feet in diameter and 18 feet long, was placed on the site of an urban renewal project. In accordance with CD instructions, three feet of earth were piled on top of the cylinder.

SWIFT DEDUCTION: Myers was the first to climb down, but he climbed out immediately. He found that "the shelter had buckled by about two feet for a length of six to eight feet along the top, and the floor had buckled by about two inches." Myers concluded: "I am convinced that the shelter is structurally unsound."

Thomas Gerrity of Springville, N.Y., thought he was doing what was expected but it turned out that he built a fall-in shelter. While he was digging his family shelter, parts of his house and an adjacent diner he owns collapsed into the excavation. Repairs were estimated at $2,000.

Economic, moral and psychological considerations weighed heavily in the Administration's shift from family shelters. The boom cheered the sagging construction industry, but profits went to fly-by-night operators. One outfit sold 500 "fallout suits" a week at $21.95 each. A Boston businessman advertised "shelters" for $4.50. They turned out to be crowbars to open manhole covers.

A MAN'S CASTLE: One of the selling features of shelters built by an Orchard Park, Pa., firm is "portability." The firm says, "If you move, the shelters can be disassembled and moved to your new basement." Dr. Frank S. Caprio, a psychiatrist, teamed up with Shelters for Living, Inc., to offer neurosis-free shelters. Caprio said: "Most important is to have the family take pride in their shelter, as they would in their own home."

Pat Smith, daughter of Salt Lake City's CD director, takes great pride in the family shelter. She painted a large mural of an outdoor scene on one of the shelter walls. She could have saved herself the trouble if she had bought Pittsburgh Corning's latest offer — transparent solid glass bricks for shelter picture windows.

For those who want to go out in style, an Arizona company is offering a "Gourmet Survival Kit." It includes imported broiled octopus, champagne jelly and french-fried grasshoppers. But not all survival items are indulgences. The Washington **Post** reported a run on cans of Navy surplus Emergency Drinking Water. Some wise veterans spread the word that they make excellent mixers with scotch or bourbon.

NEIGHBORLY TOUCH: The deep moral questions raised by family shelters are not yet resolved. To shoot or not to shoot an intruding neighbor is still the question. Another problem is what to do with squatters who get to the shelter first. A Los Angeles man resolved the problem by building a secret chute. If someone gets to his shelter first, he plans to drop a tear-gas pellet down the chute.

Politics may also have figured in the Administration's decision. In the original draft of the Defense Dept. pamphlet, the dimensions of a recommended family shelter are 11 feet long and 4 feet high. With Texas showing signs of going Republican, the Administration may have feared the wrath of the tall patriots who might object to living on their knees for two weeks.

Community shelters are not without problems either. In Winter Haven, Fla., Hugh Zachary tried to organize a mass shelter for the 300 families in the Elbert Heights area. Enthusiasm was high at first, but it dwindled as problems arose. One man complained about the price ($270 a person). "Let's cut out the luxuries," he said. He didn't think air-conditioning or a deep well for water were needed. "I'm not even sure food is a necessity," he said.

A DOG'S LIFE: An elderly woman wanted older persons separated from noisy children. Another wanted to include pets. "I just couldn't leave without my dog," she said.

One woman asked: "What if it should happen at Christmas with my relatives here. How could I leave them?" Another said: "My family are finicky eaters. We'll have to bring our own food."

One woman refused to join, arguing, "the government got us into this mess. Let them get us out of it."

Family-style or in mass, no matter how the nation chooses to survive, there will be many post-attack problems. The Behavioral Division of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research set out to determine if mass panic would follow an attack. For the study, it assumed a 3,000-megaton attack over major metropolitan centers. Such an attack, it calculated, would spread lethal radiation within 24 hours over 75% of the country. Duration of the contamination would vary "from place to place, from hours to weeks, averaging about three weeks."

In a city of 1,500,000 persons hit by two 10-megaton blasts, more than 1,000,000 would be dead or dying after the first two weeks and 200,000 would be injured. But, the study said, the survivors would not panic. Rather, they would be docile and responsive to control by persons in authority.

DETROIT'S MISS FALLOUT OF 1961
An irradiant beauty

WHO'S SAD? The study also noted that priority of values will change. Private property, it said, would have almost no significance just after the attack. But later, values will swing back to pre-attack standards.

Satisfied that survivors will be docile, CD officials were also concerned that they might be too grief-stricken to want to continue living. But, according to the **Christian Science Monitor,** they concluded that mass grief would not pertain. They believe that "while collective grief will be massive, grief is itself almost always family sized."

Adam Yarmolinksy, special assistant to the Secy. of Defense, also believes that the American Way of Life will survive. In an interview with the Washington **Post,** he said: "Some people may find that they'll have to scratch pretty hard to find uncontaminated water before fresh supplies are brought in. Others may discover that power can't be restored overnight and if they want to stay warm they'll have to start rubbing two sticks together."

MONEY GOES ON: Those who are sure they will survive are planning to insure that their money survives with them. The Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago has built headquarters 18 feet below ground in West Lafayette, Ind., where "key personnel" will be sheltered for post-attack operations.

The bank already has its post-attack instructions from Washington. The regulations stipulate that there will be no general moratorium on the payment of pre-attack debts. But it concedes that limited moratoria may be granted in cases of hardship.

Another plan will raise the capital gains tax from 25% to 40% and establish a 25% tax on unrealized capital gains. To clarify the new tax, **U.S. News & World Report** explained: "Say you owned 100 shares of X company, bought at $10 a share. Say this stock is worth $100 a share two years after the blast . . . ."

U.S. News also advised persons to keep financial records in survival kits, fallout shelters "or other safe place."

There may be extra copies of the shelter pamphlet for those who want them because a group of Berkeley women plan to return theirs unopened to President Kennedy. A New York woman coined a slogan to counter **Life's** that might be written on the returned manuals. It is: "Peace will save 100% of the population."

NEW YORK

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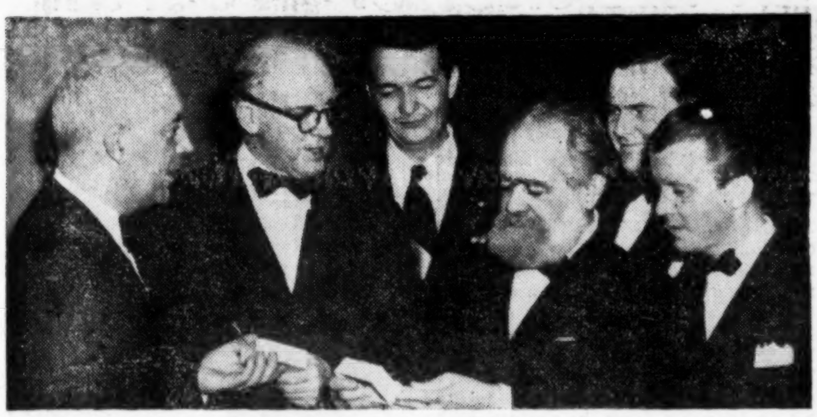
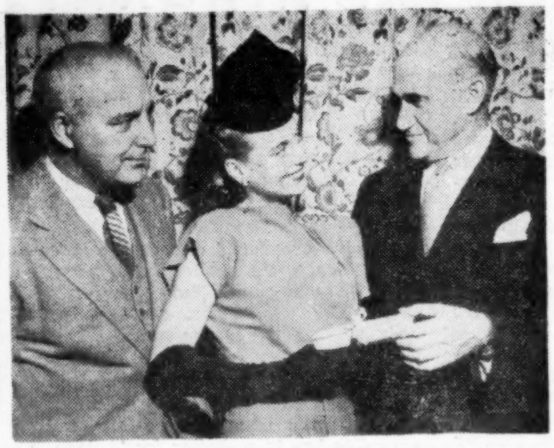
The many-sided life of Jack McManus . . .



As N.Y. Newspaper Guild President in 1945 McManus (l.) gave Page One Awards to (l. to r.): Dr. Frank Kingdon, Sgt. Joe McCarthy of Yank, Jo Davidson, Milton Caniff, Eddie Condon.



As a film critic, in 1946 he watched as Sam Goldwyn (r.) got Film Award from Mary Snee (Misse Page One).

THE PHOTOGRAPHS on these two pages
life of John T. McManus, the NATION
manager, who died on Nov. 22. The picture
detail—a few highlights, an incident here, a
era—but together they reveal a lot about
crowded and many-faceted life, an incredi
in the fields of journalism and politics, a
for friendship and personal warmth. And
energy, this activity, was always purpose
welfare of his fellow man, toward the wi
building of socialism in the United States.

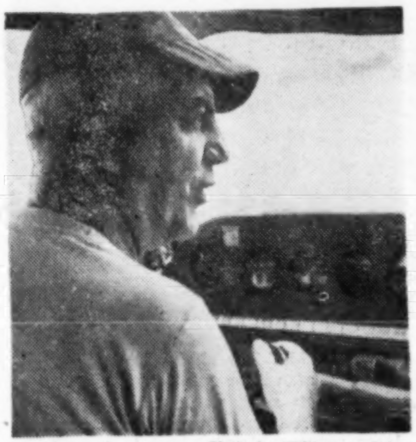
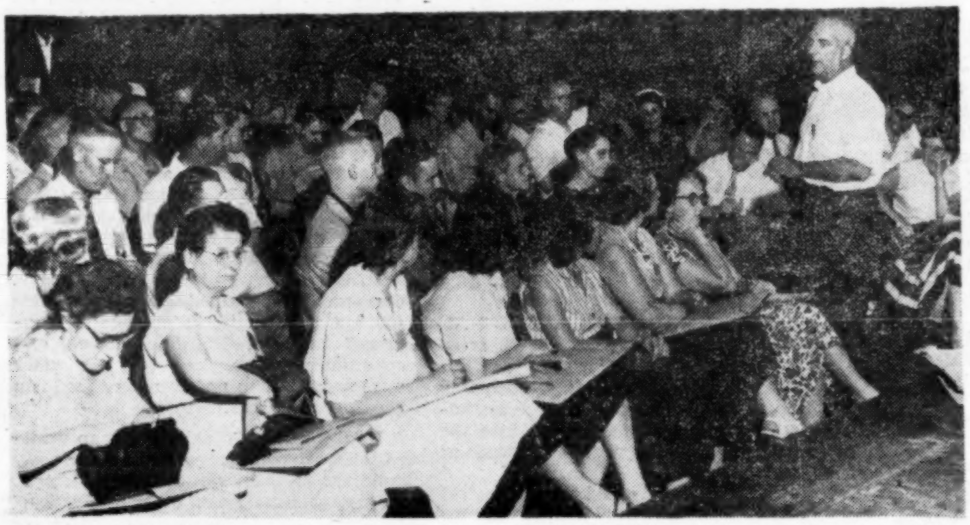


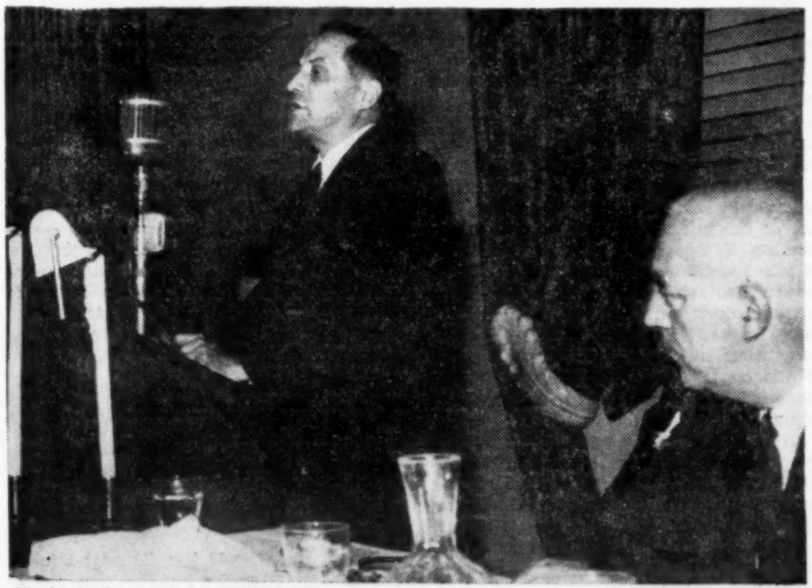
Photo by William A. Price

With his severance pay from PM he bought a piece of a plane (above) which he flew himself. He loved old cars, and his yard in Montrose was a haven for those abandoned by friends.

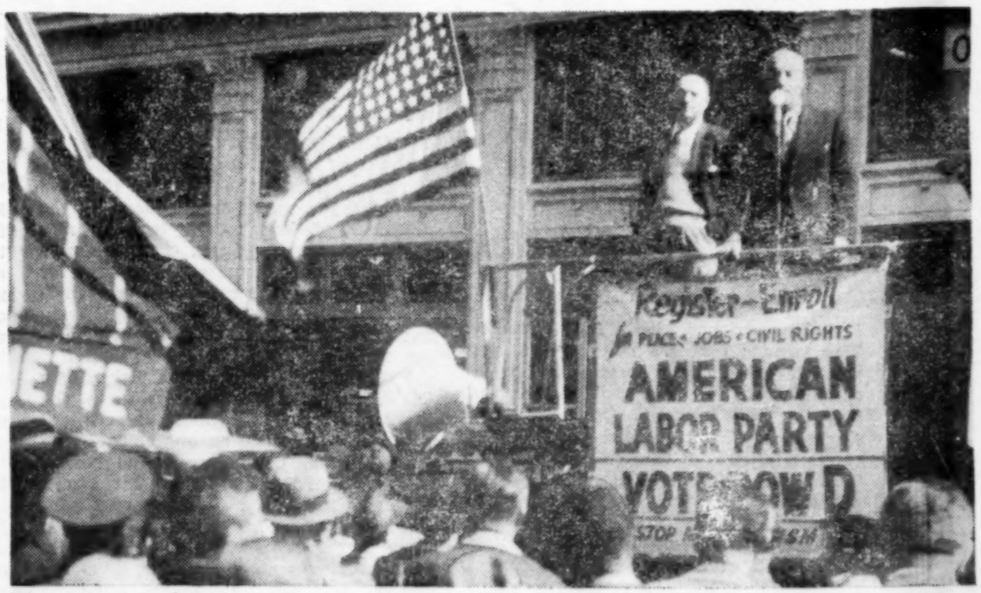


Chicago, 1952: McManus addressed a meeting of GUARDIAN supporters gathered for the Progressive Party convention. They came from all over the U.S.

Reading proof in the composing room u
His pencil gave many a sen



He looked on at the Guardian's annual dinner in 1953 as the late beloved Vito Marcantonio made the guest-of-honor speech.



Three-time candidate for Governor (he called himself the best-licked Governor New York ever had) he spoke at an American Labor Party rally on the Lower East Side in 1954.

Cedric Belfrage on McManus: 'Jack is and will remain a Joe

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

I ONCE HAD A DREAM that I had died and was reading my obituary in the GUARDIAN, written by Jack McManus. There I was, all laid out in the past tense by my friend and partner who was almost exactly the same age. I was pleased that he had written about me with a note of humor, for though our friendship had been steeled in so many battles we had never been solemn about it. Jack pointed out that the New York **Times** had given 20 lines to my death, which was at least 20 more than it gave to my imprisonment; but it didn't matter because there was the GUARDIAN, the offspring and manifestation of our battles, showing more vigorous life week by week.

Though it has turned out the other way around, as dreams often do, it is really the same and I hope Jack will forgive me if I apologize. Jack is and will remain a Joe Hill to me. He has done the best that anyone can hope to do: he believed in something, fought for it, and leaves us with his name carved on the stone of what he built.

HOW THAT HOT-SOULED, obstinate, generous-to-a-fault Irish-American believed in the GUARDIAN! Memories of many a mighty clash of argument among the three of us merge into the solid fact that we seldom regretted the way in which we resolved them. In the twilight of American democracy when our enterprise struggled for a foothold, many powerful forces pulled us this way and that; and Jim Aronson, Jack and I brought to the directorial sanctum temperaments and backgrounds as diverse as ever went into the melting-pot. But it was always Jack who, when despair knocked at the door, had the most dogged faith that the GUARDIAN would go on.

The best tribute I can pay him, and the most deserved, is that without this sometimes absurd-seeming faith of his the paper would almost certainly have succumbed to acute overdraft-itis. He could
no more believe in its mortality tha
sive movement would not triumph
secutions. That was what he gave
while he was with us, and that is n

His presence remains so vivid for
in words the personal loss. Nor can I
of my own deepened frustration,
in New York has been reduced to
from coming to work by Jim Aronso

BUT SINCE I CANNOT BE where
I write my farewell from Cuba
heart. And it would move him perhap
how Cuba mourns him. Cuba remen
responded to its revolution and nev
Twice he brought living proof to the
a small host of GUARDIAN readers,

. A pictorial account of a dedicated man

wo pages chronicle a part of the
ATIONAL GUARDIAN's general
pictures tell the story in barest
t here, a mood captured by cam-
about the man. They reflect a
incredible outpouring of energy
litics, an inexhaustible capacity
h. And they show, too, that this
purposeful, directed toward the
the winning of peace and the
States.

Guardian photo by Robert Joyce

room with editor James Aronson.
y a sentence a lift.

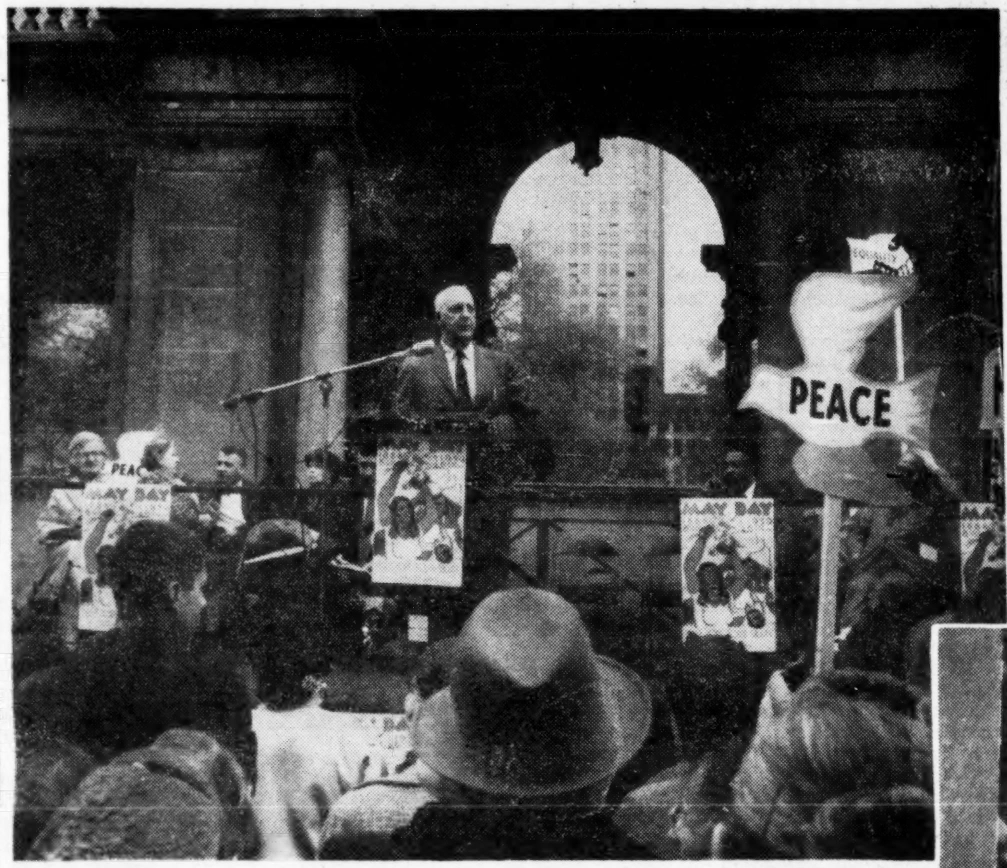


Photo by William A. Price

This was May Day 1959 in New York's Union Square. McManus' wit on the platform was renowned, and a special treat each year was his introduction of the dais guests at the GUARDIAN's annual dinner. This year, he introduced Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for a bow and said: "Our guest is just back from the 22nd congress of the Soviet Communist Party. I would like to have her say a few words, but I feel in that case I would have to give equal time to Albania." The audience—including several UN representatives from socialist countries—roared.

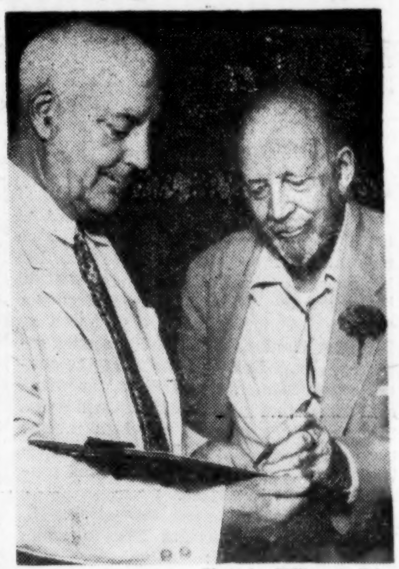
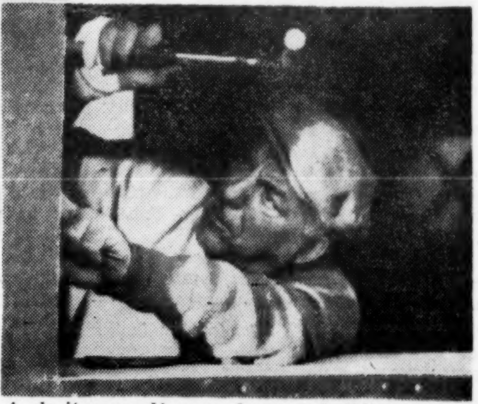


Photo by William A. Price

W.E.B. Du Bois was first to sign McManus' I-SP '58 gubernatorial petition.



A do-it-yourself man, he was building a new home in Montrose to replace one that burned.

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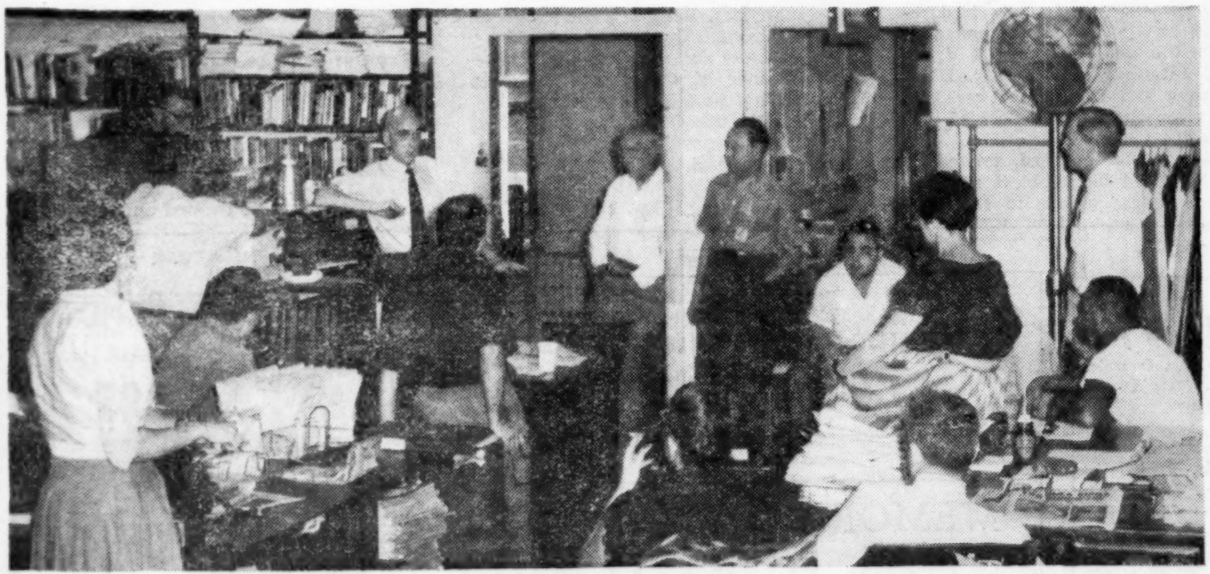

Guardian photo by Fred Haber

This was the day Cedric Belfrage (leaning on bookcase, upper l.) was telling the staff about the McCarthy hearing in May, 1953, and a few moments later the Immigration boys walked in. McManus stood in doorway.

After a day's work, nothing pleased him more than an evening with the concertina.

e Hill to me'

ity than that the American progres-
umph over all its setbacks and per-
gave to the rest of us on the staff
at is now our legacy.

ivid for me that I cannot yet measure
r can I serve any purpose by writing
ation, knowing that our triumvirate
ed to one and that I am prohibited
Aronson's side.

where I should be, it is fitting that
n Cuba which was so close to Jack's
perhaps more than anything to know
remembers with tenderness how he
nd never wavered in his love for it.
to the Cuban people, in the shape of
aders, that they should not and could

not lose hope about the people of the United States. Yet it is not first of all for this that Cuba pays homage to him. On the day after the news came, it was "the great defender of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg" whose death the Havana radio was reporting hour after hour.

In a period when his country was heaping itself with shame, Jack McManus lived an abundantly fulfilled life and died with his integrity intact. He was a good American in the sense in which we once understood the term, and I am proud of him.

More messages on the death of Jack McManus

NEW YORK, N.Y.

From the first days of our work for the freedom of the political prisoners in Spain, we came to think of Jack McManus as one of our guys. We just took it for granted he would share our counsel, open doors and pitch into our campaigns. And, of course, he did—with McManus gusto and a warmth that made you feel he had a most special feeling for you.

That was the great thing about Jack, how quickly and truly you called him "friend." He touched too many hands, strode through life with too firm a tread to be easily forgotten. How can a man be forgotten when his paper, "our GUARDIAN," is so imbued with his spirit that it is impossible to speak of one without the other flashing through your mind?

We cherish his memory.

Moe Fishman
for the Veterans of the
Abraham Lincoln Brigade

YONKERS, N.Y.

Accept this as a garland of flowers for Jack, and to help carry on the work of that indomitable and irreplaceable man.

Jane and Peter Hawley

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The unquenechable Irishman is gone. His laughter is stilled. But in his lifetime, nothing could subdue it, least of all personal adversity. It was lethal when directed against sham and injustice, an Olympian shaft.

Enclosed is our check for $100. Don't send flowers, the paper said—contribute. This was his own wish. In the measure that we honor it, all of us, we shall help keep aloft the goals for which he fought, and died, much, much too soon.

Minna and
Charles Rothenberg

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Money could never say what we thought and think of Jack. But it will help sustain the GUARDIAN, and through that, advance issues, causes and men moving toward the better world he saw and worked for.

Dorothy and George Millstone

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Please accept this gift in loving memory of a dear friend.

Dorothy Burnham

DISMISSAL OF CHARGES ASKED IN BRIEF

Soblen appeal denounces the U.S. case as fraudulent

By William A. Reuben

A 47- PAGE BRIEF was filed on Nov. 28 with the United States Court of Appeals in New York City on behalf of Dr. Robert Soblen, the Lithuania-born naturalized American sentenced to life imprisonment last August on conviction of conspiracy to commit espionage for the Soviet Union. The brief, prepared by Ephraim London, noted civil liberties attorney, assailed every element of the government's case as either illegal or without precedent in federal jurisprudence. The Circuit Court was urged to reverse the conviction and to instruct the District Court to acquit the 61-year-old psychiatrist on all charges.

London and his associates—Helen L. Buttenwieser and Jordan Derwin—contended in their brief:

- The evidence was insufficient to sustain a verdict of guilty.
- Even if the prosecution's witnesses were believed, the absence of any evidence alleging conspiratorial activity after 1945, which was 15 years prior to the indictment, barred prosecution because of the statute of limitations.
- The defendant was denied a fair trial because of the prejudicial admission of evidence relating to his alleged radical political activities in Lithuania and Germany 40 years prior to the time he was brought to trial in the United States on spy charges.
- A new trial should have been granted on the basis of the evidence discovered after the conviction last summer.

TESTIMONY 'FALSE': As for the facts of the case (dealt with in previous GUARDIAN articles Aug. 28, Sept. 4 and 11) the defense, which had called no witnesses of its own at the trial, said it had of necessity to base its brief on the testimony of Jack Soble, the defendant's younger brother, and Mrs. Johanna Beker, a German-born woman employed by him as a typist during World War II, even "though the two main witnesses for the prosecution are at best unreliable and some of their testimony is incredible and some of their testimony is patently false."

Since the defendant was tried for his alleged part in a specific conspiracy, the defense attorneys argued, the case against him had to show just what that conspiracy consisted of. The only evidence as to its purpose was given by Soble, who testified that the conspiracy began in 1940, when he entered into a secret agreement with the late Lavrenti Beria, then head of the Russian secret police. Soble said:

". . . There is a war going on (the Russian supposedly told him) and we are allies with America and you have to help in the common general effort and you will work for us and gather any information you can."

POLITICAL DATA: As to what information was sought, Dr. Soblen's attorneys said in their trial summary:

"According to the testimony the alleged conspirators were interested in securing information about Trotskyites and Mensheviks, their attempts to infiltrate unions and their attempts to form a common front against the Stalinists within the radical movement. The other area of interest was the political activities and affiliations of Germans, some of whom were living in the United States and others in Germany.

"There was no evidence of interest in or attempt to secure information about armed forces, instruments of war, army or navy installations, aircraft, vessels, military codes, defense plans or any other object enumerated [in the Espionage Act]. On the contrary, the main witness Soble testified that the information sought had no relation to national defense."

OSS REPORTS: The only evidence suggesting unlawful conduct on the part of the defendant, the defense brief asserted, was that given by Mrs. Beker. Her testimony was that she had received reports from two part-time wartime consultants in the New York offices of the Office of Strategic Services, Dr. Horst Baerensprung and Dr. Hans Hirschfeld, and had given them to Dr. Soblen.

From 1943 to the summer of 1945 these reports, Mrs. Beker testified, related to the activities and biographical sketches of German emigre groups in the U.S., plans of political factions for work in postwar Germany after Hitler might be defeated. But the last two or three reports she received from Dr. Hirschfeld, Mrs. Beker had testified, "stated that he had gained the knowledge that the United States Government was working in some important military project and making great progress with it and this would decide the end of the war considerably. . . . To the best of my recollection it mentioned a locality in the northwest of this country . . . "

The appeal brief quoted a colloquy in which the prosecutor asked the witness how Dr. Hirschfeld had obtained "the information concerning this military development"; and her answer: "It came in a report about activities in his office."

To answer this, the defense brief referred to testimony, none of it contradicted, at last October's hearings on the defendant's unsuccessful motion for a new trial. The defense made this summary:

"The OSS unit where Dr. Hirschfeld worked was employed merely in collating data secured from the public library and newspapers. It was a unit of the Research and Analysis Branch of the OSS and its work was to secure biographical data about German civilians and civil servants, so that after Germany was conquered we 'would know with whom to deal.' The persons employed in that unit were not given access to secret material for they were not American citizens and that office of the OSS did not receive any information about military projects, defense measures or the development of weapons."

VAGUE RECOLLECTIONS: The prosecution's only evidence purporting to be related to military secrets was subjected to a scornful examination by Dr. Soblen's lawyers. This was Mrs. Beker's testimony about two or three reports she said she got in 1945 from Dr. Hirschfeld dealing with an "important" military project.

This testimony, the brief said, "is based entirely on Mrs. Beker's vague recollections of reports allegedly received 15 or 16 years before she testified. She admitted that none of the reports had any identification, notation or symbol showing origin in the OSS or in any other government agency."

This, the appeal brief stated, was "the sole item of information allegedly transmitted to defendant that had even a remote connection with 'arms and equipment of the United States armed forces,' " as specified in the wording of the indictment. Citing 1945 radio broadcasts and newspaper stories, the brief declared that "statements to the effect that new weapons were being developed were common street gossip during the period in question."

The memoirs of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and of former President Truman were also quoted to the effect that security measures about the atom bomb project were so stringent information relating to it was withheld from the U.S. Vice President and was only disclosed for the first time to Truman on April 25, 1945, 13 days after he became President. Not only was Mrs. Beker's testimony "incredible and inherently improbable," but the appeal brief stated, "the suggestion that information relating to it was made accessible to German employees of the OSS is nothing short of wild."

FBI STATEMENTS: Also cited was testimony adduced at the October hearing on the motion for a new trial, at which four former OSS officials, Professors Herbert Marcuse and H. Stuart Hughes, Mrs. Shepherd Stone and Mrs. Caroline Heppner (see the GUARDIAN, Oct. 30), testified that the Biographical Data Unit, where Hirschfeld and Baerensprung were employed, had no access to secret information about weapons or anything else.

At that hearing it was brought out that the FBI had taken statements from 20 persons in that office; and although Judge William B. Herlands refused to permit the defendant's attorneys to examine those statements, it could be assumed, the defendant's lawyers argued, that since the government failed to introduce any of these statements in its own case, "none indicate that material relating to weapons or the development of weapons was ever received at the office in which Dr. Hirschfeld worked."

On this basis, the defense brief said boldly: "The government was aware that Mrs. Beker's testimony was not true."

OTHER POINTS: The three other points in the brief dealt with questions of law. rather than the evidence itself. The brief argued that prosecution of the conspiracy charged in the first count of the two-count indictment—relating to a plot to obtain defense information—was barred by the statute of limitations. The last alleged overt act occurred in 1945. The McCarran Act, passed in September, 1950, set a limitation of 10 years for prosecution, the brief pointed out.

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and express our condolences to his family and co-workers at the National Guardian.
Rebecca and Albert Baker

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LOS ANGELES

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BOOKS

Freedom defined

IN HIS NEW BOOK, "**Freedom: Promise and Menace**,* Scott Nearing gives a useful and informative analysis of the functioning of the idea of freedom in modern times and contemporary affairs. Pointing up difficulties and ambiguities in defining the term, he finds that "freedom" is a slippery concept, an ideal which has degenerated into a slogan used just as much—if not more—by the enemies of the people as by their friends.

"The freedom cult," Nearing states, "is more voluble and vociferous today than it has been at any time in the past half-century and more dangerous to the general welfare. . . . Freedom as idea and freedom in action are generally useful and advantageous. . . . But freedom, whether for the individual or for any social group (including the nation) is not necessarily advantageous. Before any project or program involving freedom can be given the green light, the question should be asked: Freedom for which individual or group to do what? When? Where? Employing what means? In pursuit of what purpose? In other words, there can be no unqualified or blanket endorsement of freedom."

As the author shows, the freedom of capitalist business over the last two centuries to own, manipulate, exploit, expand, and make profits on both a national and international scale has led to massive un-freedoms for tens of millions of workers and for many colonial countries. At present the greatest and most hypocritical misuse of "freedom" is seen in the propaganda phrase, "the free world," to designate a conglomerate alliance of capitalist and imperialist states, including a number of outright dictatorships.

IN HIS SCALE of social values for Western civilization in this era of crisis, Nearing puts justice first, order and balance second, international peace third, and freedom fourth—at the bottom of the scale. I cannot agree with this scheme of evaluation. As the author himself has said, the pertinence of freedom depends on the specific context of circumstances in which it operates; and the **ideal** of freedom remains just as important when violated as when fulfilled. Freedom of speech, however limited, constantly affects and interacts with the struggle for peace and the other values Nearing cherishes, particularly in the United States and other nations with a democratic tradition. But he says little about free speech, and, surprisingly, does not even mention the Bill of Rights.

SCOTT NEARING
Elusive term studied

I must rate freedom as equal in general to any fundamental human value, while admitting that there are critical situations in which other values should take precedence. An outstanding example in politics is when a new and revolutionary regime comes into power in a country where there has been little or no training in political democracy and parliamentary procedures. It is precisely in reference to such situations that capitalist propaganda fraudulently concentrates on the lack of democracy and omits consideration of relevant historical factors.

Nearing writes: "In the social transformation symbolized by the American-French revolutions, 'liberty' was the slogan of the revolutionaries, whereas in the present world crisis conservatives are using the 'freedom' slogan to win support for their reactionary policies. The word 'freedom' is being used so loosely and indiscriminately that it has lost any specific meaning and become a source of misunderstanding and confusion."

I DENY that the term "freedom," especially in the field of civil liberties, no longer possesses "specify meaning." One very definite meaning of it in the United States is that Scott Nearing has been able to keep on writing and publishing his anti-capitalist and pro-socialist books. Also, I am unwilling to let the reactionaries capture the word "freedom" any more than the word "democracy." Time-honored words can be powerful weapons; and those who are engaged in political struggles of any sort cannot afford to neglect semantic questions. Actually, "freedom" has so many different applications in practically every sphere of human thought and endeavor that it seems to me one of the most indispensable words in the dictionary.

Nearing has performed a valuable service in this book by describing the many ways in which the idea of freedom is abused or at least improperly defined. But I think that in his concentration on this task he at times goes to extremes and denigrates freedom in a manner that is unfortunate and unacceptable.

—Corliss Lamont

**FREEDOM: PROMISE AND MENACE, by Scott Nearing. Social Science Institute, Harborside, Me. 202 pp. $3.50.*

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A culture 'commissar'

THE MEMBERS OF THE LENINGRAD KIROV BALLET have had a wonderful time on their three-month U.S. tour. Like any artists they have been thrilled by the fervent praise of their audiences and by the rave notices in the press. And like any tourists they have delighted in the friendliness of the people they have met here.

So gratifying has the experience been in terms of cultural exchange and people-to-people friendship that they refuse to discuss another aspect of the adventure—the hardships of performance. They have had to dance in ice arenas because such cavernous halls contain many more seats than legitimate theaters. But at ticket prices ranging up to $25 these halls were seldom filled, ordinary Americans being priced out of attending.

This commercial exploitation by U.S. impresarios of the foreign artists who come here under the cultural exchange program is becoming a serious problem for the program's future. It also exemplifies a basic distinction between the arts in America and abroad. Here culture, like everything else, is almost entirely private enterprise and has been invaded—or infected—by the values of the market-place. Elsewhere, the nation's culture is regarded as a national treasure and thus a national concern, and the arts are aided and supported—and some of them carried on—by government. In the country of the Kirov the arts, like everything else, are nationalized completely. What does this mean for cultural and artistic freedom? Is Soviet artistic activity politically dominated?

I HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE this question with Leningrad's cultural "commissar"—as the U.S. press would label him—Vladimir Koloboshkin, Director-General of Cultural Activities for the city, who heads the ballet's tour. Youthful at 50-odd, quiet-spoken and an "easy-going boss" (according to the ballerinas) Koloboshkin has under his administration 690 cultural institutions in Russia's second city.

I wanted to find out how socialized culture was structured, since this is the factual basis on which to determine the nature and content of freedom. For example, at the recent 22nd Congress of the Soviet CP, Ekaterina Furtseva, the Soviet Minister of Culture, forcefully restated an old party line on culture. "One is called on," she declared, "to be merciless toward any deviations from the principles of socialist realism." But it is apparent from the system Koloboshkin described that what the political leaders may want and what actually takes place are increasingly two different things.

"Every one of the cultural institutions under my administration," he told me, "has its own artistic board, made up of the leading artists within the group, and they have full autonomy. That is to say, the theaters, operas, magazines, orchestras, etc., choose their own works and programs, they run their own seasons. My department, of course, is involved in the financial and administrative aspects of all institutional activities. But if a theater, for example, wants to put on a play that the department board may object to—for financial, artistic, audience or whatever reason—it goes ahead and does so."

"Could it put on any offbeat play," I asked, "no matter how critical of the government or things-as-they-are?"

The troupe's interpreter, Helen Konstantinovskaya, a pretty vivacious blonde, who is chief of the foreign language division of the Leningrad Conservatory, broke into laughter. "We have any number of such plays right now," she said.

I REACHED FOR THE MOST DREADFUL DEVIATION I could think of: "What about abstract painting? Do you have any?"

"In the Leningrad artists' union," Koloboshkin replied, "there are 1,050 painters. Every year they put on an exhibition of their work, and every member has the right to exhibit no matter how or what he paints. There are always a number of abstract canvases."

"What about Evushenko," I asked, referring to the young Soviet poet who recently was given prominence in the Western press by being roundly condemned by a magazine critic for a poem implying the existence of anti-Semitism among Russians.

"Evushenko comes periodically to Leningrad," Koloboshkin said, "and our students turn out in crowds to hear him. He is one of the most popular young poets in the country, in fact. The criticism he got is not likely to change that—or to change him."

"Well, what about 'socialist realism'," I insisted. "Do the painters and writers and musicians have to stick to it or don't they?"

Koloboshkin replied seriously: "We still believe as strongly as we always have that art is of and for the people and therefore should be understandable to the people. It should communicate to all, not just to a few, and we certainly believe that it should assist them and stir them in their lives and their work and in what they are striving for. But this does not mean that the individual artist cannot express himself as he wishes to. There is no government censorship of individual creative expression in our country."

"Of course," he added, "it is true that if an artist or writer were working against our socialist system itself, he would probably run into political problems."

It may be noted that even an American who does not comprehend, or accept, the Soviet philosophy behind this outside limitation—a philosophy based on concrete libertarian goals—cannot fault it, since the same kind of line is drawn here—and minus the goals.

—David Wesley

Ultra-right groups

(Continued from Page 1)

delegations to the next GOP convention to win the nomination for the Presidency. He used the gathering to make his own bid for the support of Southern segregationists. He said he would water down the GOP civil rights plank of 1960 and added: "I wouldn't like to see my party assume that it is the role of the Federal government to enforce integration of the schools."

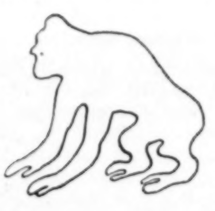
Southern GOP leaders were appalled and bitter. Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta **Constitution**, commented in his syndicated column: "The Senator's picture undoubtedly is being hung with hosannas in the offices of the White Citizens Councils and in the klaverns of the klans. That he had plans to attract Southern support was no secret. But the GOP did not expect him to go seining in the political gutters of demagoguery." A Republican leader at the conference said of Goldwater's performance: "It made us sick at heart. . . ."

UGLY MOOD: Sen. George D. Aiken (R-Vt.), a leader of Capitol Hill Republicans who consider themselves progressives, has warned that the GOP will lose in 1964 if it nominates "an ultra-conservative candidate."

In many parts of the country the mood of the far-right is turning ugly. **Time** magazine, Nov. 24, reported: "At a Boston conclave of far-out right-wingers, rampaging columnist-commentator Fulton Lewis Jr., 58, won wild applause by repudiating the moderation of the John Birch Society in merely urging the impeachment of Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren. Foamed Lewis: 'I would lynch Earl Warren'." The same remark was attributed to a speaker in Dallas.

In Indianapolis an auto dealer was picketed for selling cars made in Czechoslovakia.

In Sidney, Mont., a stronghold of the Birch Society, an American flag flown by a resident was tied in knots and smeared with tar. Earlier a letter to the local newspaper had said that anyone "genuinely patriotic" would be "understandably somewhat hesitant about displaying the flag lest it be misunderstood as condoning the traitorous machinations of the well organized subversive machine which is the actual working government of the United States of America today."



In small towns from coast to coast persons known as liberal are being harassed by right-wing neighbors, and many are receiving threatening letters from a new super-secret organization calling itself "Vigilantes Republica."

CD AS CHANNEL: In many areas existing Civil Defense organizations are being used by the ultras as logical channels for their work. The Nutley (N.J.) Civil Defense Organization has issued a four-page pamphlet which includes this message: "At present, the CDO is the most obvious and most opportune instrument for recording each individual's committed stand on the question of appeasement or resistance to active, party-line communism. . . . Either you belong now—committed to your nation's defense—or you do not belong and so stand 'uncommitted.' Today, no commitment in this matter is an open invitation to party-line communist penetration. . . . Civilian defense . . . also demonstrates a solidarity and preparedness for action, should action be necessary. This is a highly important position in the world today and forces the communist into the open for all to see—an exposure which can destroy his life. . . ."

In Brookfield, Conn., the Civil Defense unit has been used as a goon squad to police dissenters at ultra-right rallies.

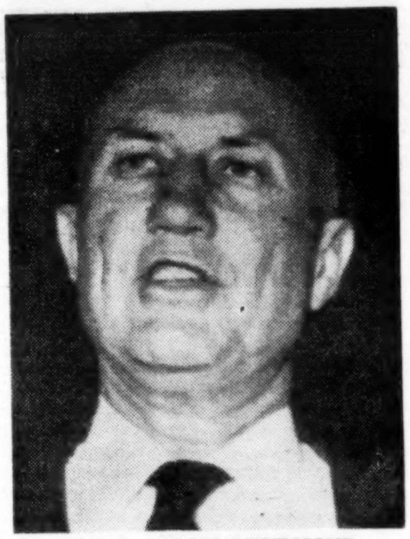
In a town near McAllen, Tex., a Civil Defense unit was set up with a series of lectures, the first devoted to "communism and Americanism." The instructor listed characteristics by which communist strategy can be identified, which included lying, stealing, humiliating, murdering, deceiving, cheating and joining front organizations. Then he announced that "a lady in McAllen" had several of these attributes and besides was an atheist. He didn't name "the lady" but nevertheless clearly identified her. The woman fought back and eventually won a retraction from the instructor, but it was a chilling experience.

IN THE SCHOOLS: The ultra-right pays a lot of attention to the schools and not only campaigns against liberal textbooks and liberal teachers but demands that anti-communism be taught at the junior high school level. Carl J. Megel, president of the American Federation of Teachers, complained at its recent annual convention that members of the Birch Society are attempting to "infiltrate parent-teacher associations which, they claim, are dominated by 'liberals' and must be exposed."

Robert Welch, head of the Birch Society, is sponsoring a nation-wide essay contest (top prize of $1,000) among college undergraduates on "Why Chief Justice Warren Should Be Impeached."

In Boston the Massachusetts educational TV channel was recently used to teach anti-communism to 75,000 high school students in four New England states in five half-hour programs. In Syracuse, N.Y., 1,000 Catholic teachers from 82 parochial schools were told by their bishop that they must instruct their pupils in the red menace, and a study week on communism was made mandatory in all diocesan schools.

The state of Florida, where anti-communism courses in high schools become mandatory next year, recently imported Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer at a fee of $150 a day to advise on how to teach the dangers of communism "without making the system attractive to immature minds." Niemeyer is a professor at Notre Dame and bears the title of consultant on communism to the U.S. Congress. He called the Florida plan "an act of civil defense as meaningful as the building of fallout shelters." Faced with a lack of textbooks on the subject, he recommended one of his own works, **Facts on Communism**, published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.



SEN. J. STROM THURMOND

The "muzzle" came from Moscow

In Ohio, school boards throughout the state are petitioning for a change in an existing law which delays teaching about world government, socialism and communism until basic courses in American and Ohio history and the like are completed.

COLLEGE PRESSURE: Higher education is also reacting to ultra-right pressures. Columbia University has set up what is believed to be the first organization of its kind—a Research Institute on Communist Affairs, founded with a $5,500,000 Ford Foundation grant. The institute will be particularly interested in "the possible effects of conflicts of interest among the communist states."

Another institute for Soviet and East European studies has been set up at John Carroll University in Cleveland, a Jesuit school. **World**, a new national right-wing weekly, on Dec. 6 reported that part of the institute's aim is "to study and explain the conquest and sovietization of nations to Americans and students from emerging nations tempted to bite into the communist apple."

The University of Southern California, a private school, is setting up a Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda with a $325,000 gift from Henry Salvatori, a trustee. Salvatori is chairman of the board of directors of Western Geophysical Co., an oil exploration concern, and is prominent in Republican fund-raising campaigns.

CALIFORNIA DRIVE: The Associated Farmers of California, a leader in the anti-labor battles in that state in the Thirties, is getting back into the ultra-right act. It has hired Bruce G. Barber to conduct an "anti-subversive educational drive." Barber is the former Immigration and Naturalization Director in San Francisco who hounded Harry Bridges for years and conducted the kidnap-deportation operation against the late William Heikkila. Part of Barber's job is reported to be to "support conservative elements on California college campuses with funds and research facilities. Among those to receive aid will be the Students Associated Against Totalitarianism on the Berkeley campus of the University of California."

In South Carolina a coalition of private ultra-right groups known as Alert, Inc., has made a quasi-official merger with a state legislative investigating committee. The two plan to establish a joint permanent staff. Alert is seeking a $100,000 grant from the Richardson Foundation, which supports right-wing causes, to be matched by an equal sum from the state or from within the state. The Raleigh **News and Observer** reports that Alert's "organization reaches to every facet of South Carolina life. . . The Alerts did not spring spontaneously from the people, but were carefully organized by men of influence to alert the public. The roster of the General Committee and Executive Council reads like 'Who's Who in South Carolina'." The organization holds frequent seminars, the next to be sponsored by Gov. Ernest F. Hollings and Gen. Mark W. Clark, president of The Citadel, a private military college.

9-STATE GROUP: Another extension of the ultra-right into state government is the formation last month of a Southern Association of Intelligence Agents, set up by law enforcement officers in nine Southern states to exchange information on "subversion" and other problems. Its president is Lieut. H. A. Poole of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (See story on page 3).

One of the newest and faster-growing ultra-right organizations is called the National Indignation Convention. It was formed in Dallas by Frank McGehee, a garage owner, to protest the U.S. program of military aid to Yugoslavia that was begun by President Eisenhower and continued by Kennedy. It has since expanded into a "crusade" against all forms of "communist-sympathizing." It has staged meetings in 90 cities from Connecticut to California and mustered almost as many pickets at Kennedy's recent appearance in Los Angeles as there were people in the audience. It is well financed and plans a series of rallies in Washington after Congress reconvenes in January. At a recent rally in Dallas, Charles C. Tansill, a history professor at Georgetown University in Washington, denounced a recent State Dept. pamphlet titled **Freedom From Want** as a "blueprint for treason."

SCHWARZ CRUSADE: Meanwhile Dr. Fred C. Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade marches on. He has just conducted an anti-communism school in New Orleans and is organizing others in Columbus, Ohio; St. Petersburg, Fla.; San Francisco, Seattle and Honolulu. He is expected to invade New York City next June with a Madison Sq. Garden rally.

How deep-going the red menace really is was revealed on Nov. 30 by Sen. J. Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.) at a right-wing rally of 2,000 in Santa Monica, Calif. Thurmond is leading the fight against what he calls the "muzzling" of right-wing military men by the Pentagon. He said the right-wing seminars of the top brass were going along fine under a 1958 directive from the Defense Dept. "But what happened?" he asked. "There was a meeting in Moscow last December at which it was determined something had to be done to stop it."

N.Y. conference held on labor-Negro party

A PROVISIONAL CONFERENCE for a new Vanguard Labor-Negro Party was held Nov. 25 at Adelphi Hall in New York City. Attending as observers or delegates were 82 persons from 12 cities in seven states.

Clarence Coggins, chairman of the Provisional Committee, said an immediate aim of the conference was to initiate activities directed toward a negotiated settlement of the Berlin situation. Letters were sent to the AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbour urging it to act for peace.

A continuations committee, pointing to a convention in 1962, was set up with the objective that the organization would be "born out of successful struggles for peace, Negro freedom and an upsurge of the left wing in the trade union movement."

Coggins said: "The world's socialist and national liberation and peace forces, together with our activities, are strong enough to impose a peaceful solution to the German question and force a negotiated settlement upon the United States and other imperialist forces."

The ultra-Right and the GOP

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as the report on the doings of the ultra-Right by Lawrence Emery on page 1, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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NEW YORK

Guardian
Theater Nights
in New York

Wednesday, January 10
An evening with Mort Sahl
•
Tuesday, February 13
Emil Gilels at Carnegie Hall

CALENDAR

BALTIMORE

Freedom Rider DICK GRISWOLD, victim of racist violence in Monroe, N.C., speaks on Southern-style justice. Fri., Dec. 15, 8:30 p.m. 2320 Reisertown Rd. Ausp. CAMD.

BOSTON

NEW FACTS IN THE MONROE CASE Speaker: Conrad Lynn, attorney for Monroe Defendants, Fri., Dec. 15, 8 p.m. Community Church Center, 565 Boylston St. (Copley Sq.) Please Bring Clothes and Canned Goods! Don. $1. — Ausp: **Comm. to Aid the Monroe Defendants.**

JEWISH PEOPLES FORUM, Sun., Dec. 10, 11 a.m. **PROF. DIRK STRUIK** (M.I.T. ret.): "Modern Weapons & Civil Defense." Town & Country Club, Morton St., Dorchester.

CHICAGO

Weekly! Soviet films wih English titles.
Fri. & Sat., 8 p.m. — Sun., 3 p.m.
Russian Arts Club 2952 North Ave.
Dec. 8-10: **COSSACKS OF THE KUBAN**
Dec. 15-17: **THE ANNA CROSS & SURPRISE FILM**

REPORT ON CUBA
Hear: **ED SHAW,** Midwest rep., FPCC, give a report on latest developments in Cuba. Just returned from a 7-week tour of Cuba. Color slides will be shown. Fri., Dec. 8, 8 p.m., John Woolman Hall, 1174 E. 57 St. Ausp: S. Side FPCC. Cont. $1, students 50c.

3-Day **ANNUAL BAZAAR** of the Jewish Cultural Clubs in Chicago. Fri., Sat., Sun., Dec. 15, 16, 17, at B. Mittelman Center, 4818 N. Kedzie Av. **Bargains galore. Home cooked meals. Fun. Admission Free!**

RESERVE THIS DATE: Pledge Peace Anew in '62! at New Year's Eve Celebration, Chopin Center, 1547 No. Leavitt, Sun., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. until ?? Continuous program. Make your reservations now. Phone WHitehall 4-1123. Don. $3 single, $5 per couple, including superb food. Benefit: MODERN BOOK STORE.

MINNEAPOLIS

Bill of Rights Day—Dec. 15, 1961
SHOULD LABOR DEFEND THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S RIGHTS?
Speakers: Henry Mayville, Sec., Minn. Comm. to Defend the Bill of Rights; Mulford Q. Sibley, Prof., Univ. of Minn.; Lucille Olson, Chmn., Soc. Club, U. of M.; Joseph Johnson, Local Organizer, Soc. Workers Party; George Tselos, Mpls. Chmn, Young Soc. Alliance. Also invited: American Civil Liberties Union. Time: Fri., Dec. 15, 8 p.m., at Mpls. Labor Temple, Rm. 211, 117 S.E. 4 St. Cont. 75c, students, 50c. Ausp: Twin Cities Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

1791—170th Anniversary of the Bill of Rights—1961
To commemorate and re-affirm that the **BILL OF RIGHTS WILL REMAIN INTACT**—Hear: John J. Abt, renowned civil liberties attorney, on Fri., Dec. 8, 8:30 p.m. at 3600 Powelton Av. Topic: "Dangers of the McCarran Act." Ausp: Delaware Valley Comm. for Democratic Rights.

PHILADELPHIA BILL OF RIGHTS DAY CELEBRATION
Ethical Society, 1901 S. Rittenhouse Sq., Fri., Dec. 15, 8:15 p.m. Rev. William H. Gray, Jr., chairman. **Speakers: Gilbert Seldes, Burton White.**

SAN FRANCISCO

ON BILL OF RIGHTS DAY
December 15
The Committee for Constitutional Liberties will present
IS IT AGAINST THE LAW?
A dramatic presentation of the conflicting views in the Supreme Court over the Smith & McCarran Acts. Cast includes Bay Area lawyers: Benjamin Dreyfus, Ann Fagan Ginger, Norman Leonard, Rubin Tepper, and Robert Treuhaft, at 150 Golden Gate Av., 8:15 p.m. Don. $1, students, 50c. The Committee for Constitutional Liberties, 942 Market St., San Francisco.

NEWARK

Commemorate 170th Anniversary of
BILL OF RIGHTS
Hear: **Rev. William Howard Melish Charles S. Allen, Jr., Richard B. Moore.** Sat., Dec. 9, 8 p.m., Manhattan Rm. of Continental Ballroom, 982 Broad St. Ausp: N.J. Citizens Comm. for Constitutional Liberties.

NEW YORK

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Thurs., & Fri., Dec. 14, 15
New Russian film w. English titles
"A HOME FOR TANYA," plus ski troop attack. **AMERICAN THEATRE, 238 E. 3 St., CA 8-6875.**

Hear: **CONRAD COHEN,** Youth Dir., Natl. Council, returned from tour of 25 colleges. Movie in color "A Tour of Soviet Union" Sun., Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m., Allerton Center, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx. Ausp: No. Bronx Comm. American-Soviet Friendship. — Don. 50c.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
Sunday, Dec. 10, — 8 p.m. sharp.
Eyewitness Report of 22nd Congress of C.P.U.S.S.R. Ausp: Freedom of Press Committee. 3200 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn. Come early, meeting starts promptly.

"The Dominican Crisis & the New Threat to Cuba." Speaker: **HARRY RING.** Fri., Dec. 8, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Cont. 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

"ALL THE KING'S MEN," the rise and fall of a southern demagogue.
"NEIGHBORS" animated film from Canada.
Film Showing at BURNING ISSUES
67 2nd Av. (ent. on 4 St.)
Sun., Dec. 10, 7 p.m. Cont. 75c.

CUBA and SOCIALISM, an analysis by James O'Connor, economist, author, recently back from Cuba. Sat., Dec. 16, 8:30 p.m., Downtown Center, 305 Schermerhorn St. (cor. Nevins). Cont. $1. Ausp: Bklyn Branch, Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

CUBA SINCE THE INVASION, a report by James O'Conner, economist, author, just back from Cuba. Mon., Dec. 18, 8:30 p.m., Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Cont. 75c.

FOLK SINGING AT BURNING ISSUES This Sunday & every Sunday, 2-6 p.m. 67—2nd Av. (ent. on 4 St.) Bring your instruments. Contribution.

JAZZ PARTY EVERY SAT. NIGHT
Walter Bowe and his group. 20 Spring St. (near City Hall), 9:30 p.m. Cont. 99c. Free black-eyed peas and rice.

VACATION IN HOLLAND
Sun., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. Color film, travel tips, music, refreshments. 200 W. 16 St., Apt. 16-C. Phone: DA 8-6154, afternoons. Next week: Mexico.

Wed., Dec. 13 8:15 p.m. hear
REV. A. J. MUSTE speak on **"The Meaning of the Peace Walk."** Good Shepherd Faith Pres. Church, 152 West 66 Street. Ausp: West Side Peace Committee.

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GENERAL

1,000 Name & Address labels, in reusable plastic case, only $1. Your name and address beautifully printed on quality gummed paper. Free Gift Catalog. W. L. Whiteman, Box 6, Boston 1, Mass.

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Milan, Mich.

WALTER LOHMAN
P.O. Box 33
Terre Haute, Ind.

JAMES WEST (18800)
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Terre Haute, Ind.

ANDREW REMES
Federal Penitentiary
Milan, Mich.

A. A. FISHER
McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary
P.O. Box 1000
Steilcoom, Wash.

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO AID TAFT-HARTLEY VICTIMS
P.O. Box 4496, Chicago 80, Ill.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 50c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

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DISARMAMENT FOR CHRISTMAS cards, Mother and Child Charcoal Sketch by Joye Zareck. Outline of "Mutual Liberation Disarmament Plan," 10c. each. Box 153, Rockfall, Conn.

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Kudos for Goshal

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

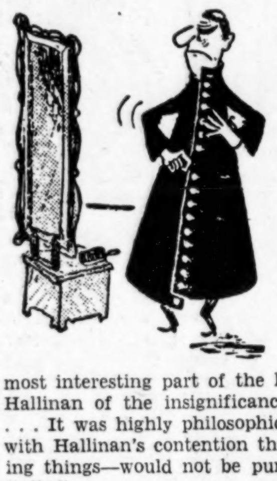
Thanks for sending Kumar Goshal to San Francisco. It was a most pleasant experience to hear him speak.

Z. Druckman

THE GALLERY

A MODERN SCOPES TRIAL is in the making in California. Attorney Vincent Hallinan is taking on the Catholic Church. In his words, "I am asking the Church to pinpoint the exact location of Heaven, Hell and Purgatory." He is also challenging the Church's authority "to act as an agent of God on earth."

The suit contests the will of the late David F. Supple, who, left most of his $200,000 estate to 29 Catholic organizations. Hallinan maintains that Supple lived in constant fear that upon his death, his soul would be consigned to Hell and therefore willed his money to the Church to assure his entry to Heaven. Hallinan maintains that the soul is a "fictitious entity" and that Heaven, Hell and Purgatory are "imaginary." "If the Church can point out exactly where Hell is, perhaps we can get someone to drop an H-bomb on it," Hallinan said.



Hallinan recently taped a TV debate on the case with J. W. Ehrlich, a prominent trial lawyer. It will be shown on "PM-West" on Dec. 13. Bill Fiset, TV columnist for the Oakland **Tribune,** who was at the taping, described the debate as "magnificent." He wrote: "Perhaps the most interesting part of the hour was a remarkable description by Hallinan of the insignificance and yet the magnificence of man. . . . It was highly philosophical and almost poetic, and had to do with Hallinan's contention that man—and for that matter, all living things—would not be punished in a burning hell for time infinite."

Hallinan, presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952, was raised as a Catholic but describes himself as a "roaring atheist." He has already had several requests for copies of his brief from law scholars.

IN COMPLIANCE WITH A NEW California law requiring public schools to teach classes in communism, the Berkeley school board is offering a course by Charles H. Lavis and Jerry Schuyler. In explaining the course, Schuyler said, "After all, how can we get people to vote against the Welfare State if they don't understand communism?" . . . . In response to a questionnaire on lunch counter desegregation, the Southern Regional Council received this answer from the city clerk's office of Durant, Okla.: "We do not have colored people in Durant and have not had for 40 years, so there's no segration (sic) trouble here." An SRC researcher who called for clarification got this answer from a city hall secretary: "No, I don't think anything is desegregated, and anyway, colored people have to be outside the city limits before sundown." . . . . A group of parents have asked Pontiac, Mich., school authorities to remove Pearl Buck's **The Good Earth** and James D. Edmonds, **Drums Along the Mohawk** from the reading lists of 10th and 11th graders on the grounds that they are too pornographic for teenagers. Baptist Rev. Phil P. Somers said: "This is not a book-burning crusade . . . but the amount of profanity and blasphemy in these books is a little too much." . . . Ilsa Koch, wife of the Nazi commander of Buchenwald concentration camp, has applied to the European Council of the Human Rights Commission for a pardon of her life sentence for war crimes.

—Robert E. Light

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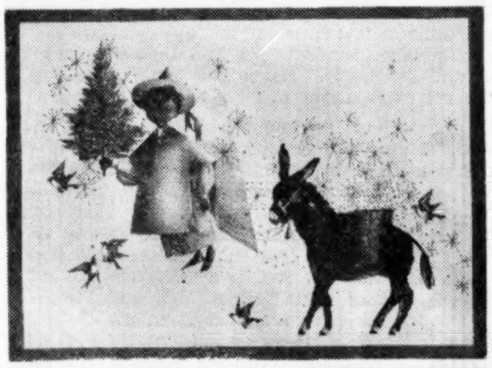
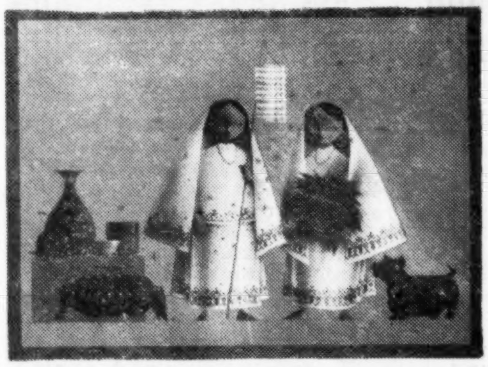
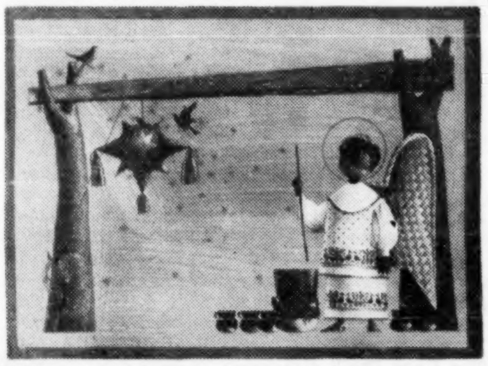
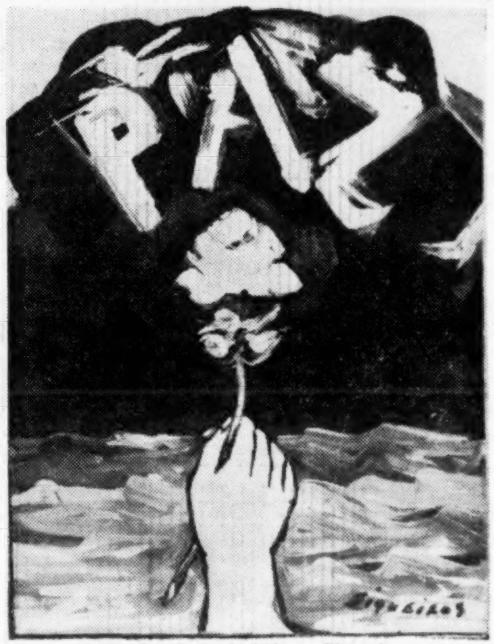
Just Six *Mailing* Days Left before Christmas!

BY THE TIME most readers receive this issue of the GUARDIAN there'll be just about six *mailing* days left before Christmas. For gifts shipped after Sat., Dec. 16, can hardly be promised for delivery by the 25th, especially to the West Coast. Here's a last roundup of the best-selling GBS gifts this season—*order now*, so you'll be sure they'll arrive by the 25th!









PAZ, by David Alfaro Siqueiros

SENSATIONAL!

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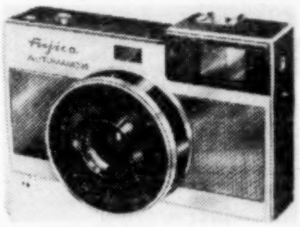
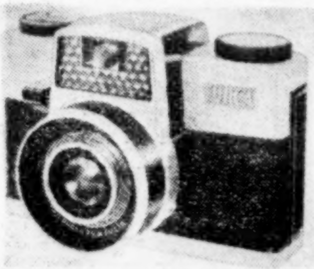
NEWSPAPER



AUTOMATIC "35"—A fine camera for the young photographer or "Sunday shooter" who wants good pictures without having to become an expert. Fully automatic electric eye coupled to diaphragm at 1/40th and 1/250 of a second preset shutter speeds. FUJINON 38 mm f/3.4 lens. Takes all 35 mm b&w or color film from ASA 10 to 200. Flash synchronization built in.
GBS price with case **$32.90**



THE FUJIPET

Fully automatic electric eye camera—just $16.95

It's impossible to make a mistake with the little FUJIPET camera—the lens is fixed (for shots from 6 ft. to infinity), and the electric eye controls the shutter continuously from f/11 to f/22. Uses 120 film, color or black and white, takes 12 pictures 2¼ x 2¼". Accommodates flash. A fine gift for boy or girl **$16.95**
(Plus $2.95 for case)

Best Sellers This Year— BINOCULARS and OPERA GLASSES

GBS HAS SOLD more opera glasses and binoculars this season than ever before—and for very good reasons. Our imported Japanese models are superb quality—and inexpensive. Three weeks ago we sold out the two most popular models—the **B126** opera glasses and **B123** wide-angle binoculars—so now we've added two new models—**B126** *gold-plated* opera glasses, in every other respect identical to the mother-of-pearl units we sold earlier; and superb wide-angle 8 x 40s, the most expensive glass we carry.

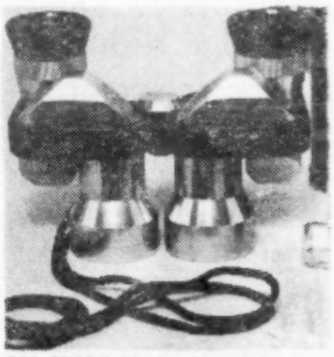
(P.S.: Our private recommendation, if you want an all-purpose glass, good for the opera or football stadium, is the B164, a beautifully made 7 power x 25 mm lens with individual focus.)

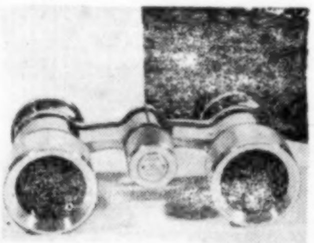
B164—7x25 Wide Angle—Here's an extraordinary, midget-sized all-purpose binocular, appropriate in concert hall or football stadium. 7-power magnification, panoramic 10° field, precision - ground coated lenses, individual focus. Comes in calfskin case, with straps. For mother or dad. **$23.50**

B210—8 power magnification, 40 mm lenses, and a wide-angle field giving you 499 ft. at 1000 yards. Center focus, coated lenses, deluxe carrying case and strap. Practically a steal at **$29.95**

B47—7x35 center focus binoculars for all-around use. 35 mm lenses and strong 7-power magnification. Lenses are coated and baked and are equipped with protective plastic covers. Comes with handsome leather carrying case with leather strap. Fully guaranteed. An excellent buy at **$19.95**

B42—Extra powerful center focus "naval" binoculars, 7x50. Clear and brilliant, where distance is needed . . . for hunting, sports, hiking, etc. All the features above, but 50mm lenses **$23.95**





OPERA GLASSES

B126 — Opera Glasses with exquisite gold plated barrels and handsome, matching brocaded carrying case. 2½ power, with center focus, metal parts gold plated. Beautifully made, a lovely holiday gift for just **$10.50**

B53 SPORT-OPERA GLASSES—Our popular, tiny "mighty micron" combination sports-opera glasses, a full seven power with 18 mm lensse. (Illustrated above). Individual focus for those with uneven eyesight. Comes with cowhide case and strap. A wonderful gift for just **$14.50**

TWO NEW RADIOS

A 7-transistor Set with short wave band and antenna

Our "old reliable" TR801 transistor radio is out of stock, but we've acquired two new models. The **TR751** (shown right) is a 7-transistor set with telescoping, 32-inch antenna, and a short-wave band. Though it's a more expensive set than the 801, we're selling it at the same price till Christmas **$21.95**

Continental's TR884 is an eight-transistor set which operates on two penlight batteries. It features Vernier tuning and built-in antenna. Comes (as does the **751**) with case, batteries and earphone plug). Slips into a shirt pocket. **$21.95**

CONTINENTAL

Our Soviet Watches

STILL FAR OUT in front as our best selling items this season are our fine Soviet watches. The women's models are, alas, all gone, but you can still get a 22-jewel automatic in a stainless steel case, or a stem-wind, gold-filled model. They're waterproof, shockproof and anti-magnetic, and experts tell us they should be selling for $100. They're unequivocally guaranteed for a full year, with absolutely minimum charges on any repairs thereafter. Complete supply of parts maintained in the U.S.—**But order today!**

*(Left)—Poljot men's automatic, 22 jewels ***$34.50**
*(Right) Poljot Men's Gold-filled, stem-wind model..***$24.50**
Add 10% Federal Excise Tax
New Yorkers add 3% sales tax

ALL SOLD OUT!—No more Picasso cards, B123 binoculars, TR801 radios or Soviet women's watches.